

# The Language of Menander Comicus and its Relation to the Koiné

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## Abstract

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The thesis is a study of the language of Menander Comicus (c.341-292/1 B.C.). The core of the thesis is a partial description of his language. Using a sociolinguistically informed model of koineisation, Menander's language is related to developments in the linguistic history of Greek. The first chapter therefore reviews the literature on Menander's language and details the theory of koineisation that will inform the subsequent chapters; accommodation theory is here of particular importance.

The second chapter reviews nominal word-formation, used elsewhere in the literature as a criterion of the Koiné. It is pointed out that word-formation is not a good criterion, as the assessment of productivity patterns in a dead variety is difficult. However, by a detailed philological study of the data in Menander, some conclusions are reached about the productive and non-productive suffixes in Menander. The derivational patterns he attests for the most part look classical, but some changes are detected.

The third chapter looks at the phonology and morphology of Menander. It is suggested that the vocalism of Menander betrays some characteristic Koiné developments, while the consonantism is mostly conservative. Noun and pronoun morphology are mostly conservative, while verbal morphology shows some signs of paradigm levelling. This is in line with the developments expected of a koineising variety, which are characterised by levelling.

The final chapter is much more descriptive and focuses on syntax, particularly subordinate clauses. Some difficult examples of relative clauses are discussed which may anticipate later developments. Adverbial and complement clauses show that the optative, while morphologically stable, is no longer used in certain syntactic contexts (the oblique optative has more or less disappeared).

An overall assessment attempts to distinguish the synchronic and the diachronic conclusions: the thesis deliberately discussed both together. It points out some concrete results establishing some spurious Menandrian texts while discussing the status of Menander's dialect. The main conclusion is that the terms of the debate about Menander's language have been misconceived: 'Attic vs. 'Koiné' is a false dichotomy in fourth-century Attica.

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Plutarch was very clear on the matter: a party without Menander is as unthinkable as a party without wine (*Quaest. Conv.* 712b). At Oxford (and elsewhere), I not only had Menander (and, indeed, wine), but also the best of friends. Conscious of many omissions, due to lack of space and not of sentiment, my humblest thanks to Lina Arthur, Helena Beeley (my port of call for phonetics queries), Mette Bundvad, Richard Crowther, Caitlin Gale (and family), Julia Ihnatowicz (and family), Fred Jayatilaka, Amanda Parsons, Stella Pedrazzini, Cosmo Phillips, Ben Raynor (who shared his knowledge of Hellenistic history), Anna Regoutz, Emily Rutherford, Harry Smith, Marc Szabo, Gertjan Verhasselt, Nikola Vlahov, Ashley Walters, Karolina Wartolowska (who helped me to learn Polish), Catherine Webb and Alice Wilby (who aided me with some statistical reasoning). Music, especially with the Oxford University Philharmonia, the Trinity College Orchestra, and the Hertford Bruckner Orchestra, provided welcome distractions and spiritual fulfilment in equal measure. I owe more to the friendship of Jonathan Downing than I can easily put into words.

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BJC

*die natali MMXIV, Oxoniae*

SORORIBUS

FRATRIBUS

PARENTIBUS

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## 1. Introduction

The core of this thesis is a partial description of the language of the comic playwright Menander. The motivation for writing it was a wish to understand the history of early post-classical Greek, in the conviction that Menander could tell us something about the origins of the Koiné. It is partial, then, in that it does not include those aspects of Menander's language which correspond to the Attic Greek of any standard grammar. This introduction is not a comprehensive review of scholarship either on Menander or on post-classical Greek; it simply seeks to explore the philological and theoretical background of the thesis.

### 1.1 Menander

The following facts about Menander's life are pertinent. He was a native Athenian, from the deme of Cephisia to the north-east of Athens.<sup>1</sup> He was born in 342 B.C. and died in 292/1 B.C., completing over a hundred comedies in between, in the style known since antiquity as New Comedy (νέα κωμῳδία). His victories were not numerous in his lifetime, but the evidence suggests that this work became popular following his death.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, for reasons that are not now easy to determine, at some point his texts ceased to be copied, and were all but lost.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Test.* 1-2 K.-A.

<sup>2</sup> For the statues, see *test.* 25-40; for the mosaics see Kahil (1970) and Gutzwiller/Çelik (2012). There does not seem to have been a huge amount of scholarly work on Menander in antiquity, but some titles have come down to us, see *test.* 75-81 K.-A. *P.Oxy.2654* (of *Car.*) has some strange markings on the third column that are taken to indicate cross-references to a commentary (Turner (1968) 2); the didascalia on the *Dyskolos* in *P.Bodm.4* are assumed by Blume (1998) 19-20 to go back to a complete Hellenistic edition.

<sup>3</sup> The standard view is that the disdain of Phrynichus and his fellow Atticists for Menander meant that texts were no longer copied, cf. Blanchard (1997) 223; Atticism is discussed further in §1.2.2. Against this is the fact that Menander seems to have survived into a much later phase of antiquity than previously thought (see n. 11). Easterling (1995) suggests that Menander was lost due to

### 1.1.1 Modern sources for Menander

The popularity of Menander meant that his texts could not vanish entirely. Menander was an important source for intellectuals of the Imperial period and late antiquity. As a result, up to the end of the nineteenth century, Menander was known through numerous quotations (more than for any other comic poet) scattered through other texts. These, the ‘book fragments’, are quoted by a range of writers for very different agendas: the lexicographers combed Menander for interesting or (usually) ‘sub-standard’ vocabulary; Plutarch and Stobaeus drew on Menander for moral precepts; Athenaeus and Pollux excerpted Menander in their enormous compendia. These passages are rarely long (never more than 20 lines),<sup>4</sup> and offer limited scope for investigation, especially as the motives of the authority citing the text affect their usefulness.<sup>5</sup>

The book fragments are a much more reliable source than the *Monostichoi*, a set of collections of moralising one-liners. Besides genuine Menander they contain a large number of lines taken from other authors (including extant tragedians, particularly Euripides).<sup>6</sup> The *Certamina Menandri et Philistionis* are similar: quotations from Menander and Philemon (under the misnomer Philistion in the MSS) have been taken, expanded, and arranged into a dialogue form.<sup>7</sup> These were not systematically investigated for this thesis, since they cannot be used as

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over-familiarity: the use of the *sententiae* in education gave people the impression of knowing Menander without engaging with his actual texts.

<sup>4</sup> The longest are fr.236, 296, 409 (16 lines); fr.804 (17 lines); fr.602 (18 lines of book fragment, though a papyrus find has extended this still further).

<sup>5</sup> De Melo (2010) points out the paradox that glosses, though cited for linguistic reasons, can mislead us by over-stressing linguistic peculiarities, while fragments cited for literary reasons give us a better picture of the language.

<sup>6</sup> Edition in Jäkel (1964) 1-83; Klaus (1936) sifted the *Monostichoi* for genuine and spurious Menander; see further Pernigotti (2008). The collection had a wide mediaeval circulation: see Führer (1982) for the Slavic translation and Ullmann (1961) for the Arabic.

<sup>7</sup> Jäkel (1964) 85-120; Cartlidge (forthc. 2015).

independent evidence for Menander; it is possible to rule out certain lines on internal grounds (e.g. ἦν for ἐάν; see also n.708), but only external evidence proves their authorship. They do however shed fascinating light on what ‘Menander’ meant at an early stage of his reception.

Another source for Menander are the adaptations of his plays by Roman writers; the ‘Latin Menander’ consists of seven plays, three by Plautus (*Bacchides*, from *Dis Exapaton*; *Cistellaria*, from *Synaristosai*; *Stichus*, from *Adelphoi I*, perhaps with additions from another play) and four by Terence (*Adelphoe*, from *Adelphoi II*; *Andria*, from *Andria* and *Perinthia*; *Eunuchus* and *Heauton Timorumenos* from plays of the same names).<sup>8</sup> The debate about the relationship of Greek and Roman comedy is on-going;<sup>9</sup> this thesis will not contribute to it, but will occasionally refer to its results. It should be stressed that little of what can be said in this area is certain beyond all disproof; as we discover more Greek originals this area of the subject has the potential to change a great deal.

It was the discovery of some of these Greek originals on Egyptian papyri that lifted the study of Menander from this rather dispiriting situation.<sup>10</sup> This is perhaps one of the most exciting developments in classical philology of the twentieth century, and the number of Menander papyri is still growing.<sup>11</sup> This thesis is no exception to the rule that Menander scholarship is in a much greater state of flux than other areas of the subject; any view we take could need revision in the light of new discoveries. Papyri either come with a colophon identifying

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<sup>8</sup> The commentary on Terence by Donatus is an important source of book fragments.

<sup>9</sup> Classic treatments in Fraenkel (2007) (first published in 1922), Webster (1950) 67-97, Handley (1968); see also the publications of Eckhard Lefèvre (e.g. (1991), (2014)), and Fontaine (2010).

<sup>10</sup> For a survey of Menander papyri see Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 42-56; the history of their discovery is given by Blume (1998).

<sup>11</sup> The most recent find is the notoriously illegible double palimpsest; see d’Aiuto (2003).

their authorship, or overlap with a book fragment; sometimes papyri identified as Menander by overlap allow us to reassign a formerly anonymous book fragment (an *adespota*) to him.<sup>12</sup> Over some papyri there lies a question mark: if they have no colophon, and do not overlap with a known book fragment, logically they could be by Menander – but are they? This thesis did not set out to prove or disprove Menandrian authenticity, still less chronology, but some pointers will be given to features that might help (cf. n.704 below).

### 1.1.2 The corpus used in this study

Menander papyri are fraught with problems: they are lacunose; they require emendation; often they only exist in a single, damaged or poorly copied, manuscript. Many seem to have been private copies rather than scholarly texts. New finds often require line numbers to be shifted or adjusted between editions; different editions of the book fragments often have different numeration.<sup>13</sup>

The textual starting point for the book fragments was *PCG* VI.2, and the second edition of Oxford Classical Text by Sandbach for papyrus fragments; line numbers in the thesis generally refer to these editions.<sup>14</sup> The exceptions are *Misoumenos*, *Encheiridion*, *Leucadia* and *Synaristosai*, which are cited according to Arnott's Loeb edition.<sup>15</sup> The line numbers of the first had to be adjusted after the prologue was discovered, and the solution of numbering the prologue separately is an inelegant stopgap; the other three were for a time only accessible in Arnott's edition. *Epitrepontes* saw extensive developments as I was writing: the

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<sup>12</sup> Nünlist (1999), identifying fr.*adesp.*78 as *Ep.*665-8 (see Furley (2009) 62, Blanchard (2013) 106).

<sup>13</sup> Blume (2010) gives an excellent history of Menander editions up to the present day.

<sup>14</sup> Sandbach (1990), Kassel/Austin (1998) (hereafter K.-A.). All comic fragments cited without further specification are from K.-A. (1981-). I have not used the *Hydria* reconstructed by Gaiser (1977); a re-evaluation of the material of this study is required.

<sup>15</sup> Arnott (1979) for *Ench.*, (1996a) for *Leuc.* and *Mis.*, (2000) for *Syn.*

editions of Furley and Blanchard represented considerable advances on previous work, the Blanchard text incorporating the new Michigan fragments published by Römer.<sup>16</sup> I use Sandbach's line numbers; when I refer to other editions I append an 'F' or a 'B'.

*Encheiridion* and *Leucadia*, as well as nine other 'small' plays, are now best accessed in the edition by Austin – a sad torso of what would have been a splendid new Oxford text.<sup>17</sup> There are plans to complete this OCT but it is unclear when it will appear. In the near future it is hoped that the *Poetae Comici Graeci* series will receive its remaining Menander volume, which will put Menander scholarship onto a whole new level.

### 1.1.3 Menander's comedy

Although this is not a literary thesis, a brief note about Menander as literature is in place, partly as New Comedy, even in classics departments, is not as frequently read as it should be, but also because his literary qualities are closely related to his linguistic choices.

Ancient comedy is usually divided into three periods, termed Old, Middle and New. Old and New Comedy are widely accepted as being definable generic categories, perhaps in part because they are easily related to Aristophanes and Menander. The temptation to view either of these writers as sole representatives of their genre must be resisted, however; from what evidence we can glean from fragments, neither of them had a monopoly on the kind of comedy it was possible

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<sup>16</sup> Furley (2009); Blanchard (2013), cf. Römer (2012a), (2012b).

<sup>17</sup> Austin (2012), reviewed by Cartlidge (2013).

for others to write.<sup>18</sup> Middle Comedy is a much more controversial term, no doubt in part because there are no complete plays,<sup>19</sup> though Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus* are sometimes held to anticipate future developments (e.g. in the lack of the chorus). It is likely that the periodisation of comedy can only act as a useful set of guidelines.

The chief characteristic of New Comedy is its domestic setting. Most plays are set within a single household,<sup>20</sup> and portray that household's struggle to maintain its equilibrium in the face of disturbing external circumstances: most commonly, the love of a young person for someone who is for various reasons unsuitable (*Samia*, *Dyskolos*, *Perikeiromene*),<sup>21</sup> or the problems created when a member of the household is no longer present (*Aspis*, *Epitrepontes*).<sup>22</sup> New Comedy is often derided as a formulaic genre:<sup>23</sup>

It is usual to praise him without stint, but to the writer he and his imitators seem about the dreariest desert in literature. Life is not entirely composed of seductions and unwanted children, coincidence and recognitions of long-lost daughters, irate fathers and impertinent slaves.

Equally disparaging is Peter Green:<sup>24</sup>

Yet far from enhancing our opinion of a playwright on whom earlier judgments tended, because of the fragmentary corpus, either to be held in abeyance or else to echo the

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<sup>18</sup> For example, while mythological comedy seems to have been characteristic of Middle Comedy, there are titles by Old Comedy poets which seem to hint at mythological subjects; political comedy is often associated with Old Comedy rather than later comedy, but many of our fragments of Timocles contain the names of known individuals, implying some kind of political satire.

<sup>19</sup> For a full study of the genre and the problems involved, see Nesselrath (1990).

<sup>20</sup> Perhaps also involving a neighbouring house; the sit-com *The Good Life* has a somewhat similar set up.

<sup>21</sup> It is typical of New Comedy that disaster is imminent but never quite hits; something like Puccini's *La fanciulla del West* is perhaps a close comparison.

<sup>22</sup> Again, the parallels to modern sit-com plots are apparent; see further Furley (2009) 3-4.

<sup>23</sup> Tarn (1966) 273.

<sup>24</sup> Green (1990) 75, 77-8.

eulogies of antiquity, the publication of the *Dyskolos* leaves us all too aware that the standards of the late fourth century B.C. are very different from ours.... sooner or later even Menander's most devoted admirers are forced to concede many of those faults we have already noted: the hackneyed recurrent motifs, the artificial coincidences, the repeated use of grotesque devices (e.g. rape at a festival) to precipitate action.

The underlying argument Green develops is that Menander's comedy is based on a contemporary desire for escapist literature, the basis of which seems to be the assumption that anything non-political is escapist.<sup>25</sup> More recently, attention has been drawn to the elements of Menander that are fantastic; the role of 'luck' or coincidence in his comedies is perhaps the most emblematic sign of this. The exaggerated terms of the epigram of Aristophanes of Byzantium have been counterproductive: the romantic notion of life imitating art has hindered rather than helped us to see Menander in realist terms.<sup>26</sup>

Yet the underlying assumption of Tarn's disparagement remains the idea that Menandrian comedy aims, at least, at realism. A more positive contribution was that of Rostovtzeff, who took a material approach to Menander's plays.<sup>27</sup> For Omitowoju, Menander is intimately linked with Athenian *Realien* on three different levels: the factual (e.g. the reconstruction of the marriage ritual), the social-institutional (e.g. the kinds of terms in which an *oikos* was constructed in Athens), and the attitudinal (what Omitowoju calls *mentalité*, e.g. what the function of *τύχη* says about popular beliefs).<sup>28</sup> Green's case has been perhaps

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<sup>25</sup> An important counter-argument to this view was mounted by Lape (2004) who examined the civic ideology implicit in Menander's work.

<sup>26</sup> *Test.* 83 K.-A.: ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε, πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν πότερον ἀπεμίμησαστο; 'Menander! Life! Which of you imitated which?'

<sup>27</sup> Rostovtzeff (1941) 164-5 on the prosperity of late fourth-century Athens; 202 on historical kidnappings resembling Menandrian premises (*Sik.*, fr.150).

<sup>28</sup> Omitowoju (2002) 146-152.

most directly challenged by Blanchard, who sees the *Dyskolos*, for example, as the story of the disillusioned middle classes under Demetrius of Phaleron.<sup>29</sup>

If we turn our attention to linguistic realism, it is more common to assert that Menander's language represents a stylised version of late Attic conversational Greek;<sup>30</sup> yet Menander might be working with entirely artificial and stylised conventions without any basis in contemporary language. We turn our attention first to two established examples of Menander's linguistic stylisation.

### 1.1.3.1 Menander and tragedy

Firstly, it is widely acknowledged that Menander was steeped in fifth-century tragedy, particularly Euripides.<sup>31</sup> This stems primarily from the plot construction of Menander: the intrigues remind us of plots like that of *Ion*, while the domestic setting bears some resemblance to *Hippolytus*, *Electra*, or even Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore there are passages of Menander which bear a resemblance to the language of tragedy: certain usages, certain lexical choices, and above all metrical patterns (discussed in the following section). Finally, Menander also cites tragedies directly, either individual lines (as in the doctor-scene in *Aspis*) or more extended parody.<sup>33</sup>

### 1.1.3.2 Menander's metre

Menander, like all ancient playwrights, composed in metre, but the metres he uses are less varied and complex than those we find in Aristophanes. Although there

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<sup>29</sup> Blanchard (2007) 31-42.

<sup>30</sup> Rosenstrauch (1967) 35-37 catalogues features of 'język uliczny', 'street language'; Furley (2009) 19; Sommerstein (2013) 46.

<sup>31</sup> Garzya (1960); Katsouris (1975), with a good literature review; Blanchard (2007) 63-70. Specific examples are analysed in Sandbach (1970) 124-9, Sommerstein (2013) 36-40.

<sup>32</sup> Omitowaju (2010).

<sup>33</sup> See p.281 below and n.943 for Euripides' *Orestes* in *Sikyonios*.

are traces of lyric and anapaestic metres,<sup>34</sup> the plays generally use iambic trimeter, iambic tetrameter catalectic, and trochaic tetrameter catalectic.<sup>35</sup> Instances of resolution are high,<sup>36</sup> Porson's Law is not observed, enjambement is frequent. Aristotle felt that iambs suited conversational Greek speech patterns (*Poet.*1449a26), and Menander stretches iambic verse to its extremes. One has the impression that Menander is the playwright who can most easily claim not to need the fudge of '*metri gratia*' in describing his language. Nevertheless, verse always stylises. Indeed, Menander was capable of exploiting the resources of metre to lend a distinct colour to the text. The *locus classicus* is the recognition scene in *Perikeiromene*, written in tragic diction (strict stichomythia, observing Porson's Law).<sup>37</sup> I have titled my thesis 'the *language* of Menander' – but is there only a single register in his text? We also have the testimony of the *Aspis* that Menander could even write dialect verse (the Doric 'doctor'). Is there an *a fortiori* argument for fine-grained distinctions between characters, if Menander was also capable of rather broader strokes?<sup>38</sup>

### 1.1.3.3 A slice of life?

The stylistic features sketched above show that Menander uses language creatively to paint both characters and particular situations. On the other hand, it is also well documented that Menander's language was characterised by homogeneity. This for example was the conclusion of Plutarch, who described Menander's diction (φράσις) as unified (μία φαίνεσθαι) and crafted in such a way

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<sup>34</sup> Lyric in the *Theoph.* fr.dub. (for the ascription on the basis of a scholium to Euripides, see Handley (1969) 95-98), anapaests in *Leuk.* 11-16.

<sup>35</sup> On Menander's metre see White (1909), Rubenbauer (1913), Sisti (1968), Prato *et al.* (1983).

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed study see Prato *et al.* (1983) 37-161.

<sup>37</sup> Zini (1938).

<sup>38</sup> Dissenting, Green (1990) 78 ('the supposedly subtle characterization is both broad and one-dimensional').

that any speaking persona seems to be speaking appropriately.<sup>39</sup> Sociolinguistic studies of variation in Menander have generally led to negative results; despite a certain amount of linguistic characterisation, slaves and masters are not characterised in opposition to one another.<sup>40</sup> The language of women, on the other hand, does seem to have some features of its own,<sup>41</sup> and these will occupy us at various points in the thesis. The rôle of women in language change (as promoters of variants with overt prestige) is well-documented, and it is thus of interest for the historical linguist if Menander's women speak differently.<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, Dickey has argued that Menander is reliable evidence for some kind of spoken register of Attic. She rightly points out that not all conversational language is on a level: there is such a thing as refined conversation, as well as vulgar talk.<sup>43</sup> If certain aspects of Menander's language seem elevated, it might not be out of the question that polite conversation could also be elevated.

The discussion so far has focussed on the question of what Menander's language looks like. In the framework of a diachronic study such as this, we might also ask what we *expect* Menander's language to look like. And in doing so we embark on the major topic of this thesis, a subject that was hotly contested even in antiquity.

## 1.2 The Koiné as an ideological construct

Menander's first play, the *Orgē*, was performed in 321 B.C. Two years previously, Alexander the Great died. Linguistic history links the literary and the political event. By 323 B.C., Alexander had taken Greek culture to the ends of the known

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<sup>39</sup> Cartlidge (forthc. 2014b) is a fuller exploration of this subject.

<sup>40</sup> Sandbach (1970) is a classic study; on the language of social classes in Menander, Zini (1938) 23-55, Krieter-Spiro (1997) 252.

<sup>41</sup> Zini (1938), Bain (1984).

<sup>42</sup> See below 160 n.527, 221-222, 293 n.971, 294.

<sup>43</sup> Dickey (1995).

world; a generation previously, the Macedonian court had adopted as its language a variety of Attic frequently termed ‘Great Attic’ (*Großattisch*).<sup>44</sup> It was this dialect that was spread throughout the Near East, becoming what is termed the Koiné. The question of the definition of the Koiné is extremely vexed; there is not even any agreement on the terms in which a definition should be developed.<sup>45</sup>

A broad division in approaches to the Koiné is between those who see the Koiné in its development and those who examine the Koiné’s function in the Hellenistic period; broadly speaking, this corresponds to the division between diachronic and synchronic linguistics. The synchronic approach might be further divided, into approaches which take the Koiné as an autonomous variety to be described on its own terms, and those which look at the relationship between the Koiné and the old dialects. To foreshadow the discussion below, while examining the function of the Koiné in the Hellenistic World is perfectly legitimate, there is an important limitation to this approach; this limitation is precisely what a diachronic examination might repair. More generally, it is possible to draw too sharp a divide between synchronic and diachronic approaches. The distinction is a useful one, and neglecting it can also lead to problems; but pretending that these two aspects of linguistics can be entirely separated is fallacious.

### 1.2.1 The Koiné as standard

One recent approach, for example, has been to see the Koiné as a ‘standard language’.<sup>46</sup> This approach draws a distinction between the social role of Greek in

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<sup>44</sup> Thumb (1901); Bubeník (1989) 175; Horrocks (2010) 75-77.

<sup>45</sup> Standard presentations of the Koiné can be found in Thumb (1901) 61-101; Costas (1937) (an excellent compendium of earlier literature); Browning (1983) 19-52; Horrocks (2010) 79-123.

<sup>46</sup> López Eire (1999) 83, Silk (2009), Colvin (2009); the idea is critically discussed by Tuten (2003) 84-86.

the classical and post-classical periods. While in the classical period each dialect in effect acted as its own prestige variety, being defined for non-linguistic reasons as a species of Greek but without being referred to a separate linguistic standard,<sup>47</sup> the fourth century saw the collapse of the dialects as the primary medium of communication, and their replacement by a standard variety, the Koiné. The history of the relationship between the individual dialects and the Koiné is then charted as a process of ‘dialect death’ as the old dialects gradually ceased to be used.<sup>48</sup> This has led to a rich literature about the linguistic landscape of various areas of Hellenistic Greece,<sup>49</sup> with important conclusions: the spread of the Koiné was facultative, and expressive of identity; its adoption was highly variable even within close geographical proximity. Most revealingly, there were even areas to which the Koiné did not spread.<sup>50</sup>

Related to this is Colvin’s cultural approach to the Koiné. Rather than being defined as a particular variety of Greek, the Koiné is an abstract ideal determining the intuition speakers had about their language.<sup>51</sup> Literary products such as oral epic and *stoichedon* inscriptions can be seen as mechanisms for defining a language;<sup>52</sup> indeed, Homeric Greek (with its own mixed dialect features) is taken to be a kind of prefiguring of the Hellenistic Koiné.<sup>53</sup> The problem with Colvin’s approach is its paradoxical ahistoricism. The comparison of Homeric and

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<sup>47</sup> Morpurgo Davies (1987).

<sup>48</sup> For the concept of ‘dialect death’ see Hornsby (2006) 1, Amery (1993) 45-6.

<sup>49</sup> Thumb (1901) 39-41 (Rhodes); Kieckers (1910) (Crete); Buitenen (1911), Horrocks (2010) 84-7 (Boeotia); Consani (1995) (Rhegium); Minon (1999) (Elean); and most elaborately Bubeník (1989).

<sup>50</sup> This is the case of Tsakonian, a descendant of ancient Laconian; there was a brief period in which Tsakonian was said to be a Greek dialect descended from the Koiné like any other, but this has now been refuted (see the bibliography in Horrocks (2010) 88).

<sup>51</sup> Colvin (2011) 39.

<sup>52</sup> Colvin (2009) 35, 40. It is striking that Colvin gives an aesthetic value judgement about these inscriptions; sociolinguists have long been sceptical about value judgements in language matters, and with good reason. By terming the inscriptions ‘beautiful’, Colvin prejudices the issue on their degree of standardisation.

<sup>53</sup> Colvin (2009) 42.

Hellenistic Greek, both representing a ‘mixed’ dialect, is seductive, but pays no heed to the different historical reasons for such a mix coming about.<sup>54</sup> His model does not account for the changes we see happening to Greek in the late fourth century. If the Koiné is a concept ‘which expresses the linguistic and cultural identity of the speaker: that is to say, *Hellenismos*’,<sup>55</sup> then it is not clear why it should differ from a fifth-century dialect. Colvin fails to address the problem of the Koiné – namely its marked difference to any of the classical dialects.<sup>56</sup>

This realisation is the starting point for the trend sketched in n.49; in fact the first scholar to undertake this kind of contrastive study of the Koiné and the dialects did so in the framework of a description of the Koiné.<sup>57</sup> The ‘koineisation’ of Greek speaking communities is an important issue for Hellenistic identity. What is more difficult to see is what such an inquiry would look like for Attica itself. While it is possible to watch as (e.g.) Doric features are gradually wiped from the Rhodian epigraphic record, Attic epigraphy switches in later periods to an ultra-conservative, classicising orthography, revealing little trace of the gradual effacement of epichoric features.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> The comparison is also made by López Eire (1993) 45, calling the Homeric dialect ‘une espèce de modèle normatif’. This is not the place to attempt a discussion of what makes the Homeric ‘mixture’ distinctive (Hackstein (2002) is a fruitful starting point): Aeolic features in Homer have been explained functionally (e.g. by Parry) and genetically (e.g. on the ‘Aeolic phase’ theory); they have even been explained away entirely (Strunk). Colvin is right to point out that labelling the Homeric dialect a ‘Kunstsprache’ is hardly fair to the equally artificial mixtures which make up most Greek literary dialects. But in advance of explaining what I think was distinctive about the Koiné, it is worth making the observation that on most models of the Homeric dialect mixture, the Aeolic elements are seen as being part of a traditional element of the epic language. This will be seen to contrast with what is going on in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>55</sup> Colvin (2011) 39.

<sup>56</sup> If this were not so, it is difficult to account for the coinage of the term κοινή διάλεκτος in ancient scholarship. The views of ancient scholars on the Koiné are helpfully presented by Maidhof (1912), who distinguished ‘Koiné als Ursprache’, ‘Koiné als Universalsprache’, and ‘Koiné als Umgangssprache’ as the three main conceptions of the Koiné. In each case, it is difficult to see on what basis a grammarian could do this unless he was conscious of some opposition between what was thought to be Koiné and what was thought to be Attic (Aeolic, etc.).

<sup>57</sup> Thumb (1901) 38-40.

<sup>58</sup> Threatte (1980) 16 for an example; see also n.851.

### 1.2.2 The Koiné as sub-standard

The notion of a ‘classicising’ variety brings us to a subject important in the history of Menander scholarship, but representing a line of inquiry which this thesis will not pursue.

In the second century A.D., a renewed antiquarian interest in literature of the fifth century B.C. led to increased awareness of the differences between contemporary language and classical Attic. The result was the creation of a new kind of textbook, the prescriptive dictionary, designed to determine which words might or might not be used by someone who wished to be thought classically educated; this movement is known as Atticism.<sup>59</sup> One of the harshest of Atticists was the lexicographer Phrynichus, and one of Phrynichus’ favourite stalking-horses was Menander, whose usage was frequently thought sub-standard.

The Atticist agenda has set the tone in Menander studies, which will be discussed in §1.5. This thesis proposes to strike new ground by explicitly rejecting the terms of this debate. Firstly, the Atticist agenda rested on a definition of what it is we think ‘good Attic’ should look like. On the face of it, of course, this is perfectly scientific, since it is possible to specify whatever corpora of ‘Attic’ and ‘Koiné’ one wishes to measure Menander against. But what does this tell us? Essentially it reduces Greek to three slices: Attic – Menander – Koiné. If they are all different (and one investigation concluded they were)<sup>60</sup> then the conclusion is simply that Greek was different at different stages of its history. What it does not tell us is

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<sup>59</sup> On Atticism, see Schwyzer (1959) 130-131; for a survey of the Atticist grammarians and the literature, see Dickey (2007) 96-98; Strobel (2011) gives an account of the Atticists from a standardisation perspective; Tribulato (2014) studies the attitudes of the Atticist lexica (especially the Anti-Atticist) to Menander.

<sup>60</sup> Durham (1913).

why or how this is happening. Secondly, we have good reasons to look for characteristic developments of post-classical Greek other than the censure of the Atticists. A study of Menander need not follow this trail; rather it can start from an analysis of his language.

### 1.3 The Koiné as a dialect

This leads to the question of what a description of the Koiné would look like. As outlined above, the study of inscriptions has shown that the Koiné was not a unified entity at any stage. The papyri in Egypt tell a similar story. Nevertheless, there is a core of features which is common to almost all post-classical varieties of Greek. As a starting point, the following phonological features might be isolated against Attic:

- –σσ– for Attic –ττ–;
- –ρσ– for Attic –ρρ–;<sup>61</sup>
- γ̄ιν– for Attic γιγν–;

From this list it is easy to see that the Koiné agrees with Ionic in those features for which it does not agree with Attic.<sup>62</sup> For this thesis, this observation is the core of the Koiné-problem. The notion that the Koiné represents a ‘mixed’ dialect has been mentioned *en passant* in the preceding paragraphs. It is now time to examine this notion in more detail.

### 1.4 Origins of the Koiné in dialect mixture

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<sup>61</sup> This represents a case in which the Koiné selected a conservative variant, without assimilation, cf. e.g. Att. ἄρρην ~ Ion. ἄρσην ~ Skt. *ṛṣabhá-* ‘male’.

<sup>62</sup> Hock (1991) 486-7.

Modern historical linguistics textbooks generally discuss the Koiné at some juncture. When they do, the characteristic feature they draw attention to is the presence in the Koiné of features from several different dialects. The question we must now ask is how we imagine this happening. The first view we will deal with is a minority view, which has recently received new impetus. The much more widespread view invokes the concept of de-Atticisation. This will lead us to consider the Koiné from a modern, sociolinguistically informed point of view, which will set the agenda for the thesis as a whole.

#### 1.4.1 Total mixture

Building on the concept of the Koiné as a mixed dialect, Kretschmer attempted to trace the individual features of the Koiné to separate dialects.<sup>63</sup> Thus the vocalism of the later Koiné corresponds to the classical Boeotian vowel system; analogically regularised third declension accusatives like τὴν χεῖραν are taken from Cyprian; the spirantisation of voiced stops is Doric. On this view, the Koiné could in principle have ended up with any randomly chosen combination of dialect features. Now it is true that koineising varieties do often produce interdialects with odd selections from different dialects;<sup>64</sup> the problem with Kretschmer's idea is that such a mixture seems to have become permanent, but the fact that the Koiné selected precisely those features which it did is not explained. This model can provide an extremely powerful set of explanations for variation within the Koiné: each author could in theory have his dialect traced to a veritable smorgasbord of alternatives.

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<sup>63</sup> Kretschmer (1901), negatively reviewed by Meillet (1905-6) 53-5.

<sup>64</sup> Trudgill (2004) 103-104; note his comment 'most of these combinations have had little permanent effect on the shape of modern New Zealand English'.

One consequence of this is that MSS of post-classical texts could not be emended until it was certain that the dubious feature did not occur in any dialect inscriptions. This is pertinent to the textual criticism of Menander. The Cairo papyrus has the following reading at *Ep.* 309:

TAXPYΣIHTAYΘATIIΠOTECTIΠOTEPADΔEI

τὰ χρῦσι' ἢ ταῦθ' †**ἄτι** ποτ' ἐστὶ πότερα δεῖ

The conjunction ἄτι is not otherwise attested in Attic; as a result, most editors prefer the palmary emendation ὅ τι.<sup>65</sup> Furley comments that the writer of the Cairensis 'hesitated between a form agreeing in number with ταῦθ' and the usual expression ὅτι ποτ' ἐστὶ'.<sup>66</sup> But since the form *could* be explained as a contamination between ἄττα and ὄτι, and since the form appears on the Gortyn Code, Rosenkranz defends it against the editors.<sup>67</sup> It is not unusual that editors and linguists fail to see eye-to-eye; what is strange here is the idea that the Cretan Gortyn Code could be evidence for Menander's language. It is a good demonstration of where the Kretschmer-approach to the Koiné gets us; quite apart from being a rather unlikely account of linguistic history, it opens the door to completely random explanations of one form by another.

Perhaps the most persistent version of the Kretschmer view has been the influence of Boeotian on the Koiné.<sup>68</sup> The assumption that Boeotian and Attic were in contact is fairly uncontroversial, given their geographical proximity; there are

<sup>65</sup> Van Leeuwen (1919) 25 prints ἄττα, which produces a split anapaest.

<sup>66</sup> Furley (2009) 152.

<sup>67</sup> Rosenkranz (1930) 141. The problem of the textual criticism of hapax legomena is addressed for Menander by Pascucci (1971), (1972); these articles are especially valuable for their discussion of verb formation, which is not discussed in this thesis.

<sup>68</sup> Kretschmer (1901) 6-10, Teodorsson (1987). Strunk (1959) 88-89 explains some supposed instances of wordplay in Hesiod with reference to Boeotian vocalism; for Hesiod this is not a wholly unpalatable idea, but even Strunk is at loss to explain the same phenomena in Euripides.

even isoglosses they share, such as /tt/ < \*k<sup>(h)</sup>i. <sup>69</sup> This also receives support from the ostrakon found in Attica with Boeotian <δδ> for Attic <ζ>. <sup>70</sup> Giacomelli suggested that the Boeotian layer of the Koiné could be seen in the Hellenisms of Messapian; <sup>71</sup> the argument is that Messapian forms such as *aθinai* reflect a Boeotianised version of Attic Ἀθῆναι. An important refutation of the idea that the Boeotian developments paralleled those of the Koiné was given by Schmid, who pointed out that both the nature and the chronology of the two processes differed. <sup>72</sup> Similarity, as all linguists know, is not a good guide to genetic relationship; if there are similarities between the Boeotian vowel system and the Koiné, these might reflect developments common to vowel systems in general rather than genetic relationship – or even contact. <sup>73</sup>

#### 1.4.2 De-Atticisation

The presence of Boeotian in the Koiné is thus best excluded; the presence of Ionic, however, is uncontroversial – in fact, most explanations start from the idea that the Koiné is an Ionicised form of Attic. <sup>74</sup> However, for some forms this has been held to be insufficient. For example, Attic λεώς ‘temple’ corresponds to Ionic ληός and (e.g.) Aeolic λαός. This last is identical to the supposed pre-form of the Attic-Ionic lexemes (ultimately < \*lāuó-). In the Koiné, the form that is

<sup>69</sup> Buck (1955) 70. Negri (1982) 15 surveys some of the Boeotianisms on Attic inscriptions, but his assertion that these are ‘tali da parer anticipatrici del greco coionnaico’ simply does not fit the data he cites (spellings such as <αε> for <αι> for example, though attested, are hardly typical Koiné developments).

<sup>70</sup> Colvin (2004) 99-105.

<sup>71</sup> Giacomelli (1979) 51-76; in view of the contact he posits between Messapians and Boeotians (77-81) it is unclear why he needs the Koiné to have Boeotian elements.

<sup>72</sup> Schmid (1982), esp. 340-1; this argument was accepted by Teodorsson (1987) 203. The same argument had already been made by Ruipérez (1956).

<sup>73</sup> Schmid (1982) 342-3, already Meillet (1905-6) 54.

<sup>74</sup> Thumb (1901) 68-69, 222-223, López Eire (1996) 9. Meillet (1905-6) 54 advances the view that individual dialects substituted forms of Attic gradually, giving rise to a broadly similar set of dialects which nevertheless conserve certain epichoric features. This does not explain the fact that fourth-century Attic was also modified, a point also neglected by those for whom a koiné is by definition deregionalised (e.g. Mühlhäusler (1993)).

ultimately selected is *λαός*, neither the Attic nor the Ionic form.<sup>75</sup> As a result, the term ‘de-Atticisation’ has been coined to describe what is going on in the Koiné.<sup>76</sup> Speakers seem, in adopting Ionic and non-Attic features, to avoid those features of their speech which seemed too parochially Attic. The process of de-Atticisation prevented their speech from being referable to an Attic standard.

The source of the Ionic forms is not far to seek. The spread of Athenian power in the late fifth century over neighbouring island territories (ultimately going back to the ‘Delian league’) must have brought Attic and Ionic into close contact. The sneers of pseudo-Xenophon are eloquent testimony to the presence of speakers of foreign dialects at Athens;<sup>77</sup> examples of Ionic interference on inscriptions will feature at various points in this thesis (e.g. §3.2.4.5).<sup>78</sup> Now if there were on the one hand Boeotianised varieties of Attic, and on the other Ionicised varieties, it seems inconsistent to deny that one and not the other contributed to the Koiné. This is reminiscent of a recent debate about dialect contact and whether dialect contact is a deterministic process.<sup>79</sup> If the products of dialect contact are deterministic, it follows that there must have been more Ionic-Attic interactions than Attic-Boeotian interactions in the late fourth century; if the deterministic view is incorrect, the output must have been partially decided by eternal factors (e.g. prestige).<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> However, see p.208 below for an alternative explanation based on accommodation phenomena.

<sup>76</sup> Hock (1991) 485, Bubeník (1993) 13.

<sup>77</sup> Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.8.

<sup>78</sup> See also Meisterhans (1900) 156, 195, 251.

<sup>79</sup> The deterministic view, according to which the frequency of particular variants, and the frequency of interactions of speakers with those variants, are sufficient to determine the output of dialect levelling, without appealing to notions such as prestige, was argued for by Trudgill (2004), esp. 26-30; the counterarguments have been made by Kerswill (2007) and Baxter *et al.* (2009), who question the assumption of Trudgill that New Zealand was a linguistic ‘tabula rasa’.

<sup>80</sup> It is argued by López Eire (1996) that Ionic was a prestige dialect in the late fifth century, based on the literary achievement of Hecataeus and Herodotus, the adoption of the Ionic alphabet across Greece, and Ionicisms in the epigraphic record from an early period; I am sceptical that all López

Now this process of de-Atticisation is not unique to the Greek Koiné. A comparable example can be seen in the changes the Newcastle accent is currently undergoing, in which features specific to Newcastle are being gradually replaced by more generic ‘Northern’ features in response to shifts in what is seen as a desirable identity. This is not the process of adoption of a different standard (speakers are not, for example, adopting specific ‘London’ or ‘Manchester’ features) but the creation of a new kind of less parochial Newcastle English.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, the ‘regional standard’ described by Thelander for Burträsk in northern Sweden has the same features as Standard Swedish for those linguistic variables which are diagnostic for Northern Swedish (i.e. those variables for which, in Thelander’s sample, the dialect realisations were statistically less frequent, and therefore more salient).<sup>82</sup> The new variety has therefore become ‘de-Burträsk-ised’ by the selection of standard and dialect forms in a principled fashion.

The parallel is suggestive. The term ‘koiné’ has become a generic term in historical linguistics for a variety that is created by selecting features from more than one input dialect.<sup>83</sup> It is technically not necessary that the Greek Koiné should resemble koinés as modern linguistic literature defines them; yet the fact that ‘de-Atticisation’ has a modern parallel in ‘de-Newcastle-isation’ gives us reason to think that parallel processes are indeed at work. The next section,

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Eire’s examples *must* go back to Ionic influence, however. It should also be noted that Ionic was also influenced by Attic, see López Eire (1993) 44 on Atticisms in Herodotus.

<sup>81</sup> Foulkes/Docherty (1999) 14; Watt/Milroy (1999) 41 summarise their findings as showing ‘a reduction in variability across two generations; localised variants either disappear or are reduced in number and younger speakers prefer mainstream, unmarked variants’.

<sup>82</sup> Thelander (1979), esp. the useful summary at Fig. 11, II.64; see also Trudgill (1986) 91-4. It is particularly interesting that Thelander couches his investigation in the terms of diglossia (see Ferguson (1959), later bibliography in Hudson (1992)) and terms the ‘regional standard’ an ‘interlanguage’ while describing the overall linguistic situation in Burträsk as ‘relative bidialectism’ (II.131); the term ‘interdialect’ would later be coined by Trudgill (1986) 62 to describe precisely this situation.

<sup>83</sup> In what follows, the Hellenistic Greek Koiné is always capitalised, while other koinés have a small letter. Scholars vary in their use of an accent for the word; I follow their usage in quotations but write ‘koiné’ myself.

therefore, reviews modern koiné literature to see if we can garner further tools to help us analyse the early Koiné.

#### 1.4.3 Koiné and koinés

Koineisation was first studied in detail by Siegel,<sup>84</sup> who took the Koiné as his starting point.<sup>85</sup> Starting from the idea that the Koiné was a single, definable variety, Siegel searched for languages that had been produced in similar circumstances. He was able to list 36 varieties defined as such in the literature, and gives a survey of definitions.<sup>86</sup> The notion of ‘regional standard’ seems not to be the most common (only his (1)-(11) seem to be standard languages); more influential has been the notion that koinés are born of the contact between and levelling of several dialects.

Siegel’s next step was to define the stages of koiné formation. He isolates four different steps:

Prekoiné => Stabilisation => Expansion => Nativisation

The model this is based on is the formation of pidgins and creoles. The ‘prekoiné’ stage resembles a pidgin insofar as it represents the initial stages of contact between sub-varieties of a linguistic system, with subsequent reduction. The final, nativised koiné corresponds to a creole, since reanalysis has resulted in the stabilised variety being acquired by children; this can also be characterised as expansion.<sup>87</sup> The relationship of creolisation to koineisation requires careful handling; the connection is seductive, since both involve the development of a

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<sup>84</sup> Siegel (1985).

<sup>85</sup> Tuten (2003) 9-93 is a recent literature review of koiné studies.

<sup>86</sup> Siegel (1985) 359.

<sup>87</sup> Expansion and reduction in pidginisation and creolisation: Drinka (2010) 330 (with good overview of the subject 330-333).

nativised variety which has features taken from two distinct ‘parent’ varieties.<sup>88</sup> But pidgins arise in circumstances in which two languages are mutually unintelligible, and are themselves not mutually intelligible with those languages; koinés, by contrast, arise from contact between subvarieties, between mutually intelligible varieties of a single language. This process is termed ‘koineisation’; it should be emphasised that this term is also used to refer to the process by which speakers of the old dialects adopted the Koiné. This is an unfortunate ambiguity; but since this thesis does not examine the process of the Koiné’s adoption by speakers of other dialects, koineisation is simply restricted to the sense ‘process of koiné formation’.

Siegel’s idea has been applied to the Greek data by Bubeník.<sup>89</sup> The following table summarises the relationship between the stages of koineisation and Greek linguistic history:

Pre-koiné	The Delian League (mid to late fifth century)
Stablised Koiné	De-Atticisation and de-Ionicisation of varieties emerging in the fourth century
Expanded Koiné	Macedonian imperialism exports the Koiné across the Middle East
Nativisation	The adoption of the Koiné for literary purposes (Polybius, NT)

This is a plausible account in terms of the stage-based model; Bubeník’s own work on inscriptions has shown the chronology of the changes affecting Attic in the early fourth century. However, linguistic theory has moved on from Siegel’s proposal, and this thesis proposes to follow a rather different line. In any case, to

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<sup>88</sup> Frösén (1974) applied concepts of pidginisation and creolisation to the Koiné; this idea has not generally been accepted; see Browning (1976), López Eire (1993) 41-42, and already Nida/Fehderau (1970) 147: ‘at no time was there a Greek pidgin, a form of language which was structurally distinct from and mutually unintelligible with Greek as spoken by Greeks themselves’; 152 ‘the koiné form of a language presents no such structural break as is clearly present in the case of pidgins.’

<sup>89</sup> Bubeník (1993), esp. 19-21, (2007).

claim that literary production is a test of nativisation misinterprets the linguistic situation in Attica, in which the input dialect mixture of the Koiné was, in effect, always a native language.

A year after Siegel, Trudgill developed a rather different model of koineisation based on sociolinguistic fieldwork.<sup>90</sup> The significant innovation of Trudgill's model is the view that koinés should be understood not as going through specific *stages*, but as being involved in specific *processes*.<sup>91</sup> The advantage of this is that it opens up the investigation of a wide range of languages, both living and dead, in the framework of koineisation.<sup>92</sup> This is likely to correspond much more accurately to linguistic reality: dialect contact must be a ubiquitous phenomenon that only leads to koineised varieties under specific social circumstances. Trudgill's model has met with wide acceptance and has influenced all subsequent koiné literature.<sup>93</sup>

Trudgill's thesis starts from the observation, paralleled in sociological research, that speakers accommodate their speech to that of their interlocutor.<sup>94</sup> At this stage, there is a high degree of variability in the variants which surface in any one speaker's language. Koineisation is essentially a reduction process: minority speech forms are levelled out,<sup>95</sup> while irregular forms are simplified.<sup>96</sup> Part of the

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<sup>90</sup> Trudgill (1986).

<sup>91</sup> Tuten (2003) 28. Compare already Anttila (1972) 177 'The task is to find out what happened in the histories of language, and our concern need not be whether such events can be put into neat classificatory pigeonholes.'

<sup>92</sup> Bubenik (2007) 342 talks of the 'pointlessly broad scope of the term koine', but this seems to miss the importance for classical scholarship of research into living languages.

<sup>93</sup> Kerswill (1994), Kerswill (2003); Kerswill/Williams (2000); Tuten (2003); Hornsby (2006).

<sup>94</sup> Trudgill (1986) 7-11, on accommodation phenomena observed in his speech from recordings of his own fieldwork in Norwich. He builds on the version of accommodation theory by Giles (1980).

<sup>95</sup> Trudgill (1986) 98-102, on Høyanger Norwegian and Fiji Hindi.

<sup>96</sup> Trudgill (1986) 102-108 on Høyanger Norwegian and Trinidad Hindi.

same trend is the reallocation of variants which used to be geographically distributed along social axes.<sup>97</sup>

Kerswill applied this theory to Norwegian varieties in new towns near Bergen, and discovered the extent to which speakers of dialect-contact varieties mix dialect variants freely.<sup>98</sup> Hornsby's study of regional French also builds on sociological studies to suggest what circumstances might be particularly helpful in promoting linguistic change.<sup>99</sup> His study of Avion French showed that the presence of so-called 'weak links', characteristic of towns in which populations were mobile, promoted rapid linguistic change.<sup>100</sup>

#### 1.4.4 Menander and the Koiné

This sociolinguistic work informs the approach taken to Menander's language in this thesis. Broadly speaking, Menander's dialect is Attic, but it is Attic at a period when it already served as the input to the development of the Hellenistic Koiné. If Menander does seek to replicate in some degree the colloquial speech of contemporary Athenians, we might expect to see symptoms of koineisation in his language. This is not the koineisation caused by interference phenomena between a well-established standard and a residual epichoric dialect; rather this is the koineisation that relies on a pre-koiné stage of high dialect variability, followed by processes of levelling and focussing.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Trudgill (1986) 110-125.

<sup>98</sup> Kerswill (1994) 6.

<sup>99</sup> Hornsby (2006).

<sup>100</sup> Hornsby (2006) 10, 117-118; Trudgill (2004) 162 came to similar conclusions about the role of mobility.

<sup>101</sup> If mobility, with Rostovtzeff (1940) 1112-1113 was a particular characteristic of Hellenistic Greece, a high level of mobility will have contributed to the kind of weak links which promote linguistic change. I do not see that this is necessarily refuted by the view of Horden/Purcell (2000) 358 that mobility was common at all periods; see Oliver (2007) 87-89 for population displacement

Therefore, the strongest conclusion this thesis could draw is to specify precisely the processes which the language of Menander exemplifies, or alternatively to clarify which stage of koineisation Menander's language represents. If this either proves impossible, or if the premise of the argument (that Menander is not writing a substantially artificial dialect) is rejected, then the thesis still has an important contribution to make as a piece of description; early Hellenistic varieties are not well served by existing handbooks<sup>102</sup> – particularly texts like Menander, which were discovered after the major reference grammars were already composed.<sup>103</sup>

### 1.5 Studies in the Language of Menander

This section only discusses works aimed at a fairly full presentation of Menander's language; studies of more specific questions will be referred to as the issue arises. The study of Menander's dialect goes back to the second century A.D., when Plutarch compared the style of Aristophanes and Menander.<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately this *Comparatio* has only survived in a starkly epitomated form; it is consequently an elusive document, and has little to say about matters of grammatical variation and language change. In a sense, however, the following pages remain footnotes to Plutarch, since Aristophanes will be a frequent term of

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in the Hellenistic period. Menander gives us a picture of a mobile population that frequently travelled on business: *Sam.* 96-111 has two men return from business (see Sommerstein (2013) 11n.61); *Georg.* 6, *Her.* 46, and most likely *Col.* 4 refer to people being away on business. *Asp.* and *Pk.* have prominent soldiers who are, naturally, itinerant.

<sup>102</sup> The recent Blackwell Companion, Bakker (2010), for example, has no discussion of Hellenistic Greek, and very little on the Koiné (the contribution by Brixhe is really more about the history of Greek in Asia Minor than the Koiné in general); Menander is naturally enough not treated by Denniston (1954), or by Kühner/Gerth (1898, 1904). The brief mention in Schwyzler (1959) 127-128 considers Menander in the context of the Koiné, but the bulk of the grammar does not make use of Menander.

<sup>103</sup> Something similar applies to Philodemus, whose language also requires thorough description. An investigation of Philodemus was considered impractical as a doctoral subject at this stage, since the texts are not yet reliably edited; see nevertheless §3.1.3.2.

<sup>104</sup> Cuvigny/Lachenaud (1981); Di Florio (2008).

comparison in what follows.<sup>105</sup> Comparison with Aristophanes also motivated Dittmar's investigation.<sup>106</sup> This collects comparative data from Aristophanes and Menander in various rhetorical and pragmatic categories, such as interjections and rhetorical questions. Dittmar's main motivations were literary, but he anticipates pragmatic investigations of Menander's text.<sup>107</sup>

Once investigators turned to Menander's language in its own right, the question that received the greatest impetus was the relationship of Menander to the Koiné. In doing so, scholars followed the agenda of the Atticists sketched above (§1.2.2), perhaps most spectacularly Durham, discussion of which is reserved till later.<sup>108</sup> In part because of the constant stream of new discoveries, by the Sixties Menander was in need of an upgrade; this was duly given him by Rosenstrauch, who also sought to discover the truth behind the Atticist polemic against Menander.<sup>109</sup> This thesis might therefore be said to have trodden rather well-worn ground; it is hoped however that new perspectives offered by the developments in linguistics will help us to make progress.

There are three brief sketches of the language of Menander. The two most recent, by Vessella and by Horrocks, are full of useful information in an extremely brief compass; this thesis will modify their description in several places, but has

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<sup>105</sup> Cartlidge (forthc. 2014a) is a case-study comparing Aristophanes and Menander.

<sup>106</sup> Dittmar (1933).

<sup>107</sup> Menander suffers curious neglect by those studying pragmatic categories: he is all but missing from Biraud (2010) and completely ignored by Denizot (2011). Word-order has been extensively investigated though: Löpfe (1940), Svensson (1986), Goldberg (1996) 225-304. Aposiopesis was studied by Ricottilli (1984). Several other pragmatic works on Menander are in preparation. Pragmatics has not been a primary focus of this thesis, though I hope it will be serviceable for those engaged in such questions.

<sup>108</sup> Durham (1913).

<sup>109</sup> Rosenstrauch (1964), (1967). It is because of this book that so many Menander scholars thank their source for Polish language skills in their prefaces.

benefited from their work.<sup>110</sup> Vessella, in particular, anticipated many of the observations made in this thesis. An older but still valuable guide is Körte's entry on Menander in the Pauly-Wissowa *Realenzyklopädie der Antike*, XV.751-754. Körte engages with the Koiné question, but his main aim, quite properly, is to give a description of Menander's language on its own terms, and his observations retain their value.

It should be noted that the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* is out-of-date for Menander and other comic poets. This has marred several investigations of his language,<sup>111</sup> including the most recent concordance. In part, then, this thesis hopes also to be a reference grammar for those working on Menander, besides its other goal as a linguistic study.

Our analysis begins therefore on the trail of these early investigators, amongst whom Durham must have pride of place.<sup>112</sup> His study of the vocabulary of Menander was in reality a study of word-formation, which is the subject of Chapter 2. This will serve both as an introduction to Menander as a linguistic corpus and as a way of clearing the ground: word-formation is shown to be a highly unreliable criterion, on both theoretical and practical grounds. Chapter 3 moves on to a more promising territory, namely the phonology and morphology of Menander. Chapter 4, on syntax, has perhaps the smallest contribution to make to the diachronic aim of the thesis, since the syntactic history of post-classical Greek is still not well understood. It therefore examines subordinate clauses to

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<sup>110</sup> Vessella (2008); Horrocks (2010) 101-105.

<sup>111</sup> López Eire (2002), for example, since the fragments are referred to by Kock's enumeration. The article is still valuable for its rich epigraphic data. Aside from differences in the text, some of them crucial, *PCG* has no comparative table for Kock's edition. Katsouris (2004) is badly done, see n.128.

<sup>112</sup> Durham (1913).

gather what evidence it can. The conclusions present the philological and linguistic progress this thesis has made.

## 2. Word-formation in Menander

Very few systematic studies of word-formation of a single author have been written. This is the first such study for a writer of a non-epic genre.<sup>113</sup> The reason for this is maybe simple to state: a list of words grouped by suffix is not very edifying. On the other hand, the word-formation of Menander is an extremely common topic in the history of scholarship on this playwright, particularly by those seeking an answer to the question of Menander's dialect affiliation. The methods used by people investigating the question are almost always the same. A range of suffixes thought to be particularly characteristic of Koiné Greek are identified, and the frequency of these suffixes in Menander's language is then assessed.<sup>114</sup>

This was the procedure of Durham.<sup>115</sup> According to his study of Menander's lexicon, while suffixes 'typical' of the Koiné were more frequent in Menander than in 'good Attic writers', many Attic writers had more examples of a given suffix (i.e. were 'more Koiné') than Menander. In general, therefore, his word-formation was the same as found in Attic. Durham is explicit about his definition of what a 'good Attic writer' is; nonetheless his method is questionable.<sup>116</sup>

As a demonstration of this, we might compare the case of Callimachus (310-240 B.C.). Since he is an almost exact contemporary of Menander, he can act as a useful control: he demonstrates what kinds of coinage are possible, and by implication, what Menander might have done but did not do. It is worth drawing

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<sup>113</sup> On Homer, see Risch (1974); on Callimachus, Schmitt (1970).

<sup>114</sup> Menander's lexicon was systematically compared to Aristophanes' by the Madrid dissertation of Maquieira Rodriguez (1985), which I have not seen; see Maquieira Rodriguez (1987) 408 n.6.

<sup>115</sup> Durham (1913).

<sup>116</sup> Given the increase in Menander finds since 1913, Durham's conclusions would in any case require revision.

attention to Callimachus' new formations in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau-$ ,  $-\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , and  $-\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  /  $-\tau\omega\rho$ ,<sup>117</sup> since the first two are entirely unattested in Menander, and the last is a relic category that even seems to be singled out for explicit comic attention (see p.89). Although this confirms the view that literary texts do not always reflect real speech, it also shows that certain highly literary and artificial morphological categories are avoided by Menander. Furthermore, it shows that word-formation needs to be explained: it is not enough to calculate a measure of difference between a writer and some established 'canon'.

Of more interest is the implication of Schmitt's comments about certain formations being 'latent zu allen Zeiten vorhanden'.<sup>118</sup> Since forms (e.g.) in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau-$  are available via the Homeric texts, coining new words on this pattern is, in a sense, no innovation. Similar arguments can be advanced in dealing with adjectives in  $-\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ . Innovations in word-formation are of two kinds: either the number of formations formed according to a particular rule increases, or the permitted inputs to a word-formation process change. Aristophanes caricatures certain segments of society using the 'intellectual' suffix  $-\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ .<sup>119</sup> But to what extent does caricature actually tell us how productive a suffix is? It is precisely under such circumstances that the domain of a word-formation process might be distorted.<sup>120</sup> In assessing productivity, therefore, plain numbers are of limited value, especially since synchronic frequency and synchronic productivity are not

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<sup>117</sup> Cf. Schmitt (1970) 59-60, 78, and 79 respectively. On the  $-\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  forms it is worth mentioning that of the 10 forms attested, no fewer than nine are hapax. Archaism and innovation are thus hard to sort out exactly. Schmitt is candid about the artificial nature of Callimachus' text (calling it a *Kunstsprache* (1970) 2); this was part of his motivation, since it facilitates comparison with Homer. Obviously no genre lacks stylisation, and most are related to a specific linguistic code; the extent to which Callimachus and Menander can be characterised as using a *Kunstsprache* is however widely divergent.

<sup>118</sup> Schmitt (1970) 162, §12.5.4.

<sup>119</sup> Willi (2003) 139-145.

<sup>120</sup> See Bauer (1983) 63-4 on 'productivity' vs. 'creativity'.

the same thing.<sup>121</sup> Instead, formations have to be assessed semantically and functionally, to assess the extent to which they have been lexicalised. A higher degree of lexicalisation will correlate with lower productivity.<sup>122</sup> This also requires investigation of the derivational chains by which Greek words are formed, and these have not always been fully researched.<sup>123</sup>

Rosenstrauch moves the discussion on from Durham's starting point by taking a functional approach. He isolates suffixes with particular semantic values, namely the verbal abstracts in the first instance.<sup>124</sup> Further small-scale studies devoted to a single part of speech,<sup>125</sup> a single set of suffixes,<sup>126</sup> or a set of suffixes within a play<sup>127</sup> have helped focus attention on the *function* of particular word-formation types in Menander's language. Amundsen's study, for example, relates the function of the diminutive to politeness phenomena (a common connection typologically).

There has therefore been a move away from considering word-formation as a marker of dialect towards considering what it tells us about Menander's language in itself. This enterprise has rather more validity, since most linguists would not privilege vocabulary in the study of dialect allegiance in any case. This is because individual lexical items are the easiest to borrow, especially between closely related dialects. It is also somewhat difficult to imagine that Attic and Ionic had

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<sup>121</sup> Bauer (2003) 75.

<sup>122</sup> The ideas in this paragraph have been influenced by Panagl (1982).

<sup>123</sup> An exception is Meissner (2006) on the *s*-stems.

<sup>124</sup> Rosenstrauch (1964)

<sup>125</sup> Klaus (1936), on adjectives. Klaus's study is not directly concerned with word-formation as such, but can obviously be used as the data for such an inquiry.

<sup>126</sup> Rosenstrauch (1964), a brief but valuable account of Menander and his use of verbal abstracts in *-μα*, *-μός*, and *-σις*.

<sup>127</sup> Amundsen (1965), on diminutives in *Dyskolos*. Amundsen's study also draws on the New Testament and the Ptolemaic papyri, giving a comparative focus, as well as some insight into the relation between Menander and informal linguistic registers.

very different word-formation practices in any case. Nevertheless, some attempt is made here to exploit the evidence of word-formation in a linguistically principled way.

The following tables list nouns and adjectives grouped by suffix; space prevented the inclusion of verbs. The data was collected in the first instance from Katsouris' word index and checked by re-reading Menander as well as against indices from various editions.<sup>128</sup> The lists are designed to show what words are attested in Menander with particular derivational histories; plainly some categories, and some lexemes, are more equal than others in elucidating this history. Each section presents a sketch of the suffix's history within Greek, a table of attestations in Menander, and further discussion of subcategories and individual forms. The tables move, broadly, from substantival to adjectival formations. This serves to privilege functional criteria, as well as allowing the grouping of stem types that have nominal and adjectival forms (e.g. the *s*-stems).

Textual points, restorations, and corrections of and new authorship assignments since Katsouris' concordance are discussed in the notes. Each table is followed by a short list of forms rejected from it; adverbial forms bearing some formal resemblance to the category under discussion,<sup>129</sup> and forms in broken papyrological contexts are highlighted. It is hoped that by this means a compromise is met between a reverse index and a word-formation study, making the tables maximally useful to those working on Menander. *Ethnica*, personal

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<sup>128</sup> Katsouris (2004), which was found during this process to be difficult to use and unreliable. It is inexcusable that the book does not use the numeration of Kassel/Austin (1998). The indices in the editions of Lloyd-Jones (1960), Kassel (1965), Austin (1969b) and Sisti (1985) were used as additional controls on Katsouris.

<sup>129</sup> For example, *λίαν* is mentioned under the table of nouns ending in *-ία*.

names, and play titles, where relevant, are included. References to words in passages known to be tragic fragments quoted by Menander are marked ‘cit.’.

## 2.1 Nominal Word-Formation

### 2.1.1 Diminutive formations

Since Greek has numerous suffixes with a diminutive function, they will be discussed in separate sections. This is not wholly satisfactory, since these suffixes have a closely shared history, and interact in various different ways in the history of Greek. Some of that history will be rehearsed here before Menander’s use of the diminutive is discussed.<sup>130</sup>

The basic suffix we find in the diminutive function in ancient Greek is *-ιον*. Polysyllables and non-dactylic trisyllables are accented recessively, but trisyllabic words of dactylic shape are paroxytone; thus *παιδίον*, *θηρίον*, but *μόριον*, *λεβήτιον*, *τριπόδιον*. It should be stressed though that few of the many exceptions are easy to explain.

We may take as an example of this crux the form *νεορτιον* ‘nestling, egg-yolk’. According to our rule, this (non-dactylic) form should be accented recessively, thus *νεόρτιον* as found in *Ar. Av.* 767 (in Wilson’s OCT edition). But K.-A. print *νεορτία* in *Diph. fr.*120, and *νεορτίον* in *Men. fr.*40.2, which is also the accentuation printed in LSJ. In the opposite direction, *ζώντιον* is accented recessively at *Ar. Lys.* 72, despite being a dactylic word. The form *σακίον* disobeys the rule for non-dactylic trisyllaba under the influence of its by-form *σακκίον*, which obeys the rule. It is likely that uncertainty on this point existed even in antiquity.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> For a study of diminutives in Menander’s *Dyskolos* in comparison with Koiné texts see Amundsen (1965).

<sup>131</sup> Comment on this goes back to the scholia on Dionysius Thrax; cf. Chandler (1881) 101; Janson (1869) 4; Petersen (1910) 11.

The uncertainty in the accentuation of derivatives in  $-\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  is of interest, because of the interaction between nominalised neuter adjectives in  $-\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  (typically recessive) and diminutives proper. Since the two categories will have rather different semantics, we need to distinguish their derivational history as well.

The polysemy of the suffix  $-\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  led at an early stage to its enlargement via reanalysis from various basic types.<sup>132</sup> From patterns such as

παῖς	(παιδ-)	>>	παιδίον
οἶναρον	(οἶναρο-)	>>	οἰνάριον

the suffixes  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  and  $-\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  were generalised and used as suffixes in their own right. In the case of  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  we also see a certain morphophonemic variation, thus  $\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  for  $*\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$ .<sup>133</sup> Several additional ‘extended’ suffixes are of less clear derivational history, the most common being  $-\acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\rho}\iota\upsilon\upsilon$ <sup>134</sup> and  $-\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota\upsilon\upsilon$ .

Different types of diminutive suffix are in evidence from an early stage. There is some evidence, for example, for diminutive functions for certain stems in  $-\iota\delta-$  as well as a velar suffix  $-\nu\kappa(o)-$ .<sup>135</sup> By a similar process as outlined above for the thematic diminutive nouns, this velar suffix is extended and is in fact best attested as the compound suffix  $-\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa o-$ ; though this suffix is productive at an early stage in Greek, it recedes in the fifth century in favour of ‘das ohne Rücksicht auf das grammatische Geschlecht diminuierende  $-\iota\upsilon\upsilon$ .’<sup>136</sup> It is of semantic interest that

<sup>132</sup> Petersen (1910) *passim* on the various functions, including the non-diminutive functions, of the suffix; sometimes he is overly sceptical in assigning lexemes to categories other than diminutive.

<sup>133</sup> Petersen (1910) 212ff. argues for a derivational morpheme  $-\delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$  besides  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon$ . This seems uneconomic, and he provides few really compelling examples; even if we need it for some later stage of the language, no form in Menander need ever be explained with reference to it. Observations on the morphophonemic variations of this suffix are offered below.

<sup>134</sup> On this suffix see Monteil (1972).

<sup>135</sup> For the value of the suffix  $-\iota\delta-$  in Greek see Meier-Brügger (1975). For this analysis of the I.E. velar suffix see Jurafsky (1996) 564-9, and cf. Chantraine (1933) 386 for a suggestive remark on  $\acute{\rho}\alpha\rtheta\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$  in Homer.

<sup>136</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 541.

Schwyzler refers to the rôle of grammatical gender in the preference accorded to *-ιον* in derivation; if the diminutive function of the suffix *-ιον* has been extracted from the word *παιδίον*,<sup>137</sup> it is not surprising that the neuter suffix is more successful than a common gender suffix, since *παιδίον* is iconically diminutive and pragmatically frequent.

Greek has thus had diminutive formations of various shapes throughout its attested history; but the diachronic investigation of the type is complicated by various factors. One problem is the semantic bleaching of diminutive forms. Even if a particular noun has diminutive morphology, it need not necessarily reflect some native-speaker intuition that the idea of ‘smallness’ is being conveyed. For example:

βιβλος (A. +)

>> βιβλίον (Hdt.+)

>> βιβλάριον (P. Lille 1.7.7 [3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.])<sup>138</sup>

>> βιβλαρίδιον (NT, Hermas)

The progressive restrengthening of the diminutive suggests that the original semantics in each case had gradually been bleached. Thus diminutive morphology may be identified without diminutive semantics being guaranteed.<sup>139</sup> We will see also that it is not impossible for the ‘middle term’ to be lost entirely, sometimes resulting in synchronically irregular or derivationally opaque forms.

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<sup>137</sup> That the word for ‘child’ may play a crucial rôle in the development of the diminutive is suggested by Jurafsky (1996) 561, 562ff.

<sup>138</sup> I am reminded by Philomen Probert that this must be a derivative from *βιβλος*; however, the motivation for the form’s creation must have been the semantic bleaching of *βιβλίον*, and in that sense the two formations depend on one another.

<sup>139</sup> For the Atticists, diminutives were hallmarks of poor Attic (Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994) 213); the process of semantic bleaching explains why this morphology became so common, since nouns could easily be rebuilt into more convenient thematic formations with no concomitant semantic change.

It should be noted that the existence of redetermined diminutives may not guarantee semantic bleaching. In Ar. V. 803, the obviously diminutive noun δικάστηρίδιον (a *hapax legomenon*) is qualified by the adjective μικρόν; this qualification indicates that redetermination (in this case by an adjective) may also take place at a stage prior to semantic bleaching.<sup>140</sup>

On the other hand, it is also possible that some cases of apparently semantically bleached diminutives are variations on the sense of the suffix usually identified for Ancient Greek. The precise definition of the meanings of ‘diminutive’ formations has long been a bugbear of theoretical studies.<sup>141</sup> Although the ‘classic’ function is to designate something small, the same suffix is used by many languages to denote a wide range of secondary meanings.<sup>142</sup> For example, the use of diminutive morphology in partitive function is well-attested in the world’s languages:<sup>143</sup>

Cantonese <i>tong</i> <sup>21</sup> ‘sugar’	:: <i>tong</i> <sup>35</sup> ‘piece of candy’
Yiddish <i>der zamd</i> ‘sand’	:: <i>dos zemdl</i> ‘grain of sand’
Nahuatl ( <i>ā-tl</i> ) ‘water’	:: ( <i>ā-tzin</i> )- <i>tli</i> ‘water in a well/tank’ <sup>144</sup>

It is striking however that examples of this seem to have been passed over in Ancient Greek:<sup>145</sup>

ἄρτος ‘cake, loaf; bread’	:: ἀρτίδιον ‘small loaf; piece of bread’
πίνη ‘pearl’	:: πινάριον ‘piece of mother-of-pearl’

<sup>140</sup> *Contra* Costas (1937) 69 n.3. For other examples of this, see Ar. *Pax* 1002 with Olson’s note.

<sup>141</sup> Jurafsky (1996) 533ff.

<sup>142</sup> For an illustration of the primary sense of the diminutive and the range the suffix may have, see Tables 1 and 2 in Jurafsky (1996).

<sup>143</sup> These examples from Jurafsky (1996) 534, 536; cf. also his larger table and discussion at 555f.

<sup>144</sup> This example is particularly revealing: not only does it not refer in particular to a *small* entity, it also does not single out a particular count-noun (e.g. we might expect a meaning ‘puddle’ or ‘droplet’), but rather delineates a smaller portion of the mass-noun.

<sup>145</sup> Though see already Schwyzer (1929) 470, citing e.g. γαστήριον ‘sausage’ « \*‘piece of stomach (γαστήρ)’.

χώρα ‘land’

:: χωρίον ‘piece of land’

The case of ἀρτίδιον is instructive, as it demonstrates that the diminutive suffix can have multiple functions.<sup>146</sup> Now if we accept this as a valid function for the diminutive in Greek, it allows us to reinterpret some examples of derivatives with the appropriate suffixes as having also genuinely diminutive semantics. This could apply, for example, to χωρίον, about which LSJ state ‘dim. (only in form)’, citing Thuc. 2.19 μέγιστον χωρίον (referring to Acharnae). This citation alone is illuminating: Acharnae is being singled out as a part of Attica. Moreover, if we glance at the attestations in Herodotus, the overwhelming majority of them qualify χωρίον with a form of οὗτος ‘this’, a form of ἐωυτός ‘the same’, or a superlative adjective, all limiting qualifiers *par excellence*, thus referring to a particular piece of land, rather than ‘land’ in general.<sup>147</sup>

The redetermination of diminutive forms and the derivation of new diminutive suffixes by reanalysis interact to make the synchronic analysis of certain forms opaque. As examples of this consider the words θεραπαινίδιον ‘little slave-girl’ and πινακίδιον ‘small writing tablet’; both of these may be analysed as words derived with a suffix –ίδιον from the stems θεραπαιν– (θεράπεινα) and πινακ– (πίναξ) respectively. In the case of θεραπαινίδιον however we also have a word θεραπαινίς with a dental stem. The diminutive may then be equally well analysed

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<sup>146</sup> Petersen (1910) 52-53 rather skirts over the issue. In his discussion of ἀρτίδιον (237) he alleges the sense ‘merely, only’, thus D.L. 8.13 ἦσθιε δὲ ἀρτίδια καὶ μέλι is said to mean ‘he ate (only) bread and honey’. On the whole it seems preferable to accept the sense ‘piece of bread’, which must be the meaning of the word at Sor. 1.115 (on food to be given to children, thus scarcely a ‘roll’ or ‘flatbread’); Burguière/Gourevitch/Malinas (1988-1994) translate ‘un petit morceau de pain’(2.46).

<sup>147</sup> Petersen (1910) 58ff. conveniently lists the Herodotean examples. He analyses χωρίον as a noun of appurtenance; but he himself acknowledges that the attestations of χωρίον do not admit of the same explanation (viz. reanalysis of plurals) as his other examples. By glossing χωρία at Hdt. 2.22 as ‘Egypt’, he has also overlooked the difference Herodotus seems to imply between χώρα ‘the land [which is without shadow]’ and χωρία ‘(individual) places [where it can get wet]’.

as *θεραπαινίδ-ιον*;<sup>148</sup> the same argument may be applied to *πινακίδιον* for which *πινακίς* is attested. The two cases are however distinct. *θεραπαινίς* is more frequent than *θεραπαινίδιον* in all periods, but both forms are rarer, and later, than *θεράπεινα*. The most likely interpretation is therefore *θεραπαιν-ίδιον*, and *θεραπαινίς* may be a back-formation from the diminutive. By contrast, the form *πινακίς* is old, probably attested in Alcaeus fr.306 (4) 6 Lobel-Page, or at the latest in the fifth-century comic writer Philyllius fr.10 (a Doricising fragment), and is still found in the third century A.D. (*IPE* II 29.29); as a result, when *πινακίδιον* appears, it is unclear whether we should refer it to *πίναξ* or to *πινακίς*. The difference in the two cases illustrates the difficulty of making clear-cut analyses.<sup>149</sup>

It was stated above that the diminutive suffixes in Greek, like in many languages, are polysemous. This situation is complicated further by the identical appearance of suffixes which seem not to be diminutive at all.<sup>150</sup> If we take the three forms *χρυσίον*, *ποτήριον*, *παιδίον*, for example, some would deny specific diminutive value to any of these; *χρυσίον* is rather a derivative from an adjective of material, ‘something made of gold’, thence ‘gold plate, gold money, a golden vessel’.<sup>151</sup> *ποτήριον* ‘cup’ is part of a class of instrument nouns derived from *nomina agentis* e.g. *θελκτήρ* ‘charmer’ :: *θελκτήριον* ‘something belonging to a charmer, a charm’; since *ποτήρ* was not in fact an agent noun in Greek (it is only attested in the sense ‘cup’), and since *ποτήριον* never denotes only small vessels as a class, it

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<sup>148</sup> Thus Stoessl (1965) 127 (on *Dysk.* 460).

<sup>149</sup> Uncertainty about this question goes back at least as far as Eustathius, *ad Od.* 1410.4 (1.48.5) on *γραίδιον*).

<sup>150</sup> See above on *ἀρτίδιον*. Jurafsky (1996) gives a general overview of precisely this problem and a solution in a theoretical model of semantic change.

<sup>151</sup> On the other hand, this may once again be an example of a partitive diminutive.

seems the *io*-derivative has no diminutive function in this case.<sup>152</sup> Lastly, the existence of alternative suffixed and multiply-suffixed derivatives of *παῖς* is sometimes taken to indicate that the original sense of the diminutive had faded.<sup>153</sup> Accordingly some of the words listed below may no longer have explicitly diminutive semantics; in most cases however this will not be immediately apparent, especially in the case of rare words. One clue is the existence of a double diminutive (see the example of *βιβλαρίδιον* above), but in many cases it will not be practically possible to determine whether or not a word derived by means of a suffix is semantically bleached or not.<sup>154</sup>

The following nouns are the diminutives in *-ιον* (including those in *-ίδιον* that are formed to *d*-stems, i.e. *-ίδ-ιον*) used by Menander:

ἀλύσιον	‘piece of hair worn round the throat’	fr.202
ἀνδραπόδιον	‘slave’	<i>Asp.</i> 55
ἀσπίδιον	‘shield’	fr.676
ἐργαστήριον	‘wretched shepherd’ <sup>155</sup>	<i>Ep.</i> 366
θηρίον	‘animal’	θήριον <i>Pk.</i> 769, fr.378.2, 352.2 DSg. <i>Georg.</i> 78 θήρια <i>Dysk.</i> 481, <i>Pk.</i> 366, <i>Sik.</i> 319 GPI. fr.378.1

<sup>152</sup> Derivatives in *-ιον* to ‘tool’-words in *-τήρ* are in any case very common in Greek, so much so that the original is frequently lost: cf. *βασανιστήριον* ‘instrument of torture’, *γυριστήριον* ‘sieve’, *ῥητιήριον* ‘colander’.

<sup>153</sup> Swanson (1958) 135; Amundsen (1965) 120 also points out examples in which Modern Greek has inherited the diminutive form as the normal word, e.g. *παιδί* < *παιδίον*; *μάτι* < *ὀμμάτιον*, and cf. p.55 for *ψάρι* < *ὀψάριον*.

<sup>154</sup> In the glosses I have not always attempted to convey the particular sense of the diminutive, given the lack of productive diminutive morphology in English and the multitude of senses a Greek diminutive may have.

<sup>155</sup> The form is normally glossed as ‘scum’ (Furley, e.g.), or similar, being derived from the word for ‘workshop’; at any rate it is a derogatory term. For the interpretation endorsed here, see Cartlidge (forthc.(c)).

Word-Formation

θυγάτριον	‘daughter’	<i>Dysk.</i> 19; <i>Sik.</i> 2, 354, 371; fr.323.1; <i>Dysk.</i> 700; <i>Mis.</i> 968; fr.630
ἰμάτιον	‘small cloak’	<i>Pk.</i> 179; fr.761.5; 474.2 <sup>156</sup> ; ἰμάτια <i>Asp.</i> 88; <i>Ep.</i> 529; <i>Con.</i> 4; <i>Mis.</i> 40, 449; fr.242.2
κερμάτιον	‘piece of money’	<i>Her.</i> 7, 33
κλείδιον	‘key’	<i>Asp.</i> 357
λεβήτιον	‘cauldron’	<i>Dysk.</i> 456; <i>Dysk.</i> 472, 473; <i>Dysk.</i> 640
λήδιον	‘cheap rag’	fr.465 (gloss)
μαχαίριον	‘dagger’	fr.676
μειράκιον	‘young person’	<i>Georg.</i> 46; <i>Dysk.</i> 219; <i>Sik.</i> 109; <i>Her.</i> 25; <i>Sik.</i> 200; fr.494; <i>Asp.</i> 109; <i>Georg.</i> 67 (ἰακίου rest. Blass); <i>Asp.</i> 125; <i>Sam.</i> 115, 272; <i>Dysk.</i> 559, 843; <i>Asp.</i> 506, <i>DE.</i> fr.1; <i>Dysk.</i> 539, 269, 299, 311, 342, 729; <i>Sam.</i> 718; <i>Sik.</i> 274; fr.218.1; fr.761.1; <i>Pk.</i> 261; <i>Sam.</i> 26; <i>Dysk.</i> 967; <i>Mis.</i> 993 (μ[, rest. Austin, cf. <i>Dysk.</i> 967); <i>Sam.</i> 734; <i>Sik.</i> 420; fr.908.5
μόριον	‘bit’	fr.708.2
ναυάγιον	‘bit of wreckage’	fr.420.9
νεοττίον	‘egg-yolk’	fr.40.2
νυμφίον	‘bride’	fr.98.1
λοπάδιον	‘oyster’	fr.351.9
παιδίον	(1) ‘child’ (2) ‘slave boy’	(1) very often (2) <i>Per.</i> fr.2
πελτίον	‘shield’	<i>Pk.</i> 392
περιστέριον	‘pigeon’	fr.280.2
πλόκιον	‘necklace’	name of play
ποτήριον	‘cup’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.3.2; fr.421; <i>Asp.</i> 35, 83; fr.26.3 <sup>157</sup>

<sup>156</sup> Cf. *Ter. Ad.*120

<sup>157</sup> This fragment has a bad text, and it is unclear whether ποτήριον or ποτηρίδιον is the form we should read; the latter form is therefore also given in the table below.

προβάτιον	‘sheep’	<i>Her.</i> 26; fr.224.3
σακίον	‘sackcloth’	fr.631.4
σανδάλιον	‘sandal’	fr.627 (= <i>Col.</i> fr.9 Sandbach) <sup>158</sup>
σανίδιον	‘small board, plank’	fr.156.3
σταμνίον	‘wine-jar’	<i>Dysk.</i> 448
σχοινίον	‘piece of rope’	<i>Dysk.</i> 593, 600, 682; fr.420.7
τιτθίον	‘breast, teat’	<i>Sam.</i> 266, 536, 540
τριβώνιον	‘small rag’	<i>Georg.</i> fr.1.4
τριπόδιον	‘tripod’	fr.194
χλανίδιον	‘woman’s mantle’	<i>Pk.</i> 288 (rest. Sudhaus)
χλαμύδιον	‘cloak’	<i>Sik.</i> fr.3.2
χωρίον	‘land’	fr.1.3, fr.77.3

In numerous cases, we can be fairly sure Menander intended some kind of diminutive meaning, as the non-suffixed form looks like the unmarked term: beside *λοπάδιον*, we have *λοπάς* (*Dysk.* 520, *Sam.* 365, fr.365); beside *προβάτιον*, *πρόβατον* (*Dysk.* 393, 438, *Theoph.* fr.1.3, *Sam.* 399, *Dysk.* 776). Further examples are *χλαμύς* (*Asp.* 88; *Pk.* 354; *Sam.* 659, 687, 716; fr.242.1) and *χλανίς* (*Asp.* 378; *Dysk.* 257, 365; fr.264.3). Diminutive and basic form are equally frequent in the case of *τριπόδιον* (beside  *τρίπους* once, *Dysk.* 916), *ἀνδραπόδιον* (beside *ἀνδράποδον*, *Sam.* 506); and *λεβήτιον* (beside *λέβης*, *Dysk.* 914).<sup>159</sup> Finally, the compound *σανδαλοθήκη* (fr.244) gives us indirect attestation of

<sup>158</sup> Katsouris (2004) gives these as two separate entries, but in fact they are the same passage of Pollux (7.86), who comments that Cratinus (fr.139) and Cephisodorus (fr.4) also used the word. The assignment of the word to the *Colax* was made by Thierfelder (fr.907 K.-T.) on the basis of Ter. *Eun.* 1028: *utinam tibi conmitigari videam sandalio caput* ‘if only I could see your head being pulped by her sandal!’; Brown (1992) 97 n. 19 suggested that it may have come from Menander’s *Eunuch* instead.

<sup>159</sup> Stoessl (1965) 126 incorrectly claims the diminutive and the non-diminutive form are synonymous. His comparison with *σταμνίον* in *Dysk.* 448 is not a fair one: the non-diminutive *στάμνος* is not attested in Menander; and the form is not subject to the same pragmatic conditions as *λεβήτιον* is in the cauldron-borrowing scene in the play.

σάνδαλον (attested in Sappho fr.98 and *HHMerc.* 79) next to σανδάλιον. These examples show that the diminutive has not, or not yet, become lexicalised. We can conclude that the suffix –ιον was a productive way of forming diminutives at this period.

Pragmatic arguments are also useful here. For example, λεβήτιον is used in a scene in the *Dyskolos* in which a cauldron must be borrowed to prepare a feast. Cross-linguistic investigation of diminutives has shown that they have an important function in politeness; the imposition of a request is diminished by portraying the thing requested as small or insignificant. In languages with the appropriate morphology, this can be marked by a diminutive suffix.<sup>160</sup>

There are some examples of the partitive diminutive:<sup>161</sup> ναυάγιον ‘piece of wreckage’, possibly also σχοινίον if this means ‘piece of rope’. A striking example is σακίον, morphologically a diminutive of σάκος ‘rough cloth; sackcloth; sack, bag’. In theory any or all of these senses might also appear in the diminutive. Apparently, however, the sense ‘sackcloth’ is only attested for σακίον from Menander onwards (attestations in later authors include Josephus *AJ* 2.3.4, Plu. *Mor.*2.168d); Menander’s use of the diminutive form in this way predates the attestation of the base form in the same sense (σάκος, attested as ‘sackcloth’ first in the LXX *Gen.*37:34). Menander seems then to have formed the partitive diminutive ‘(piece of sacking ») sackcloth’ independently. The spelling of the

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<sup>160</sup> Sifianou (1992) gives an analysis of the diminutive’s rôle in politeness strategies in Modern Greek.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Diphilus fr.14.2-3 σπλαγχνίδια πολλά, σαρκία ἀπαλώτατα ‘many pieces of offal, the tenderest bits of meat’.

word is a well-known crux: ancient scholarship uniformly classed –κ– as Attic as opposed to non-Attic –κκ–.<sup>162</sup>

Next we may turn to the diminutive nouns in –ίδιον.<sup>163</sup> As mentioned above, this suffix was reanalysed from diminutives in –ιον created to *d*-stems. It is significant that one possible pivotal form is the word for child, παις, παιδ–, diminutive παιδίον. The data of numerous languages attests the importance of words for ‘child’ in developing the diminutive category,<sup>164</sup> as well as the rôle of children in the pragmatics of diminutive use.<sup>165</sup>

Whatever the origin of the suffix, once it has been identified as a source for building new formations, it is built to the stem of a wide range of nouns. In particular, it has been thought that suffixation of –ίδιον to stems in –ιο– led to the suffix shape –ίδιον, e.g. τρθίδιον << \*τρθι–ίδιον << τρθιον; cf. also δικαστηρίδιον (Ar. *Vesp.* 803).<sup>166</sup> But Petersen, followed by Chantraine, considers this unlikely, primarily because not every form in –ίδιον has a corresponding form in –ιον, e.g. τρθίδιον, a form in –ιον from τρθις, –ιδος (also –ιδος, see LSJ for details). Petersen’s own explanation starts from the observation that the long vowel is found under the ictus of the verse,<sup>167</sup> a view for which cause and effect are impossible to disentangle (besides relying on a rather outdated view of Greek metrics). Chantraine’s suggestion is to seek the origin of the discrepancy in the

<sup>162</sup> The relevance of this variation for the accent was discussed above. The origin of the geminate is attributed to different dialects by different authorities: for Phrynichus it is Doric (Phryn. 229), which may be based on Aristophanes’ evidence (see Rutherford (1881) 323); for Moeris and Thomas Magister, ‘Hellenic’ (i.e. Koiné; Moer. 354 P., Thom. Mag. 344 R.); for Pollux, it is characteristic of comedy (7.191).

<sup>163</sup> On –ίδιον cf. Petersen (1910) 212-240; Chantraine (1933) 68-72.

<sup>164</sup> Jurafsky (1996) 561.

<sup>165</sup> Sifianou (1992) 158-9.

<sup>166</sup> Janson (1869) 50: ‘huius vocalis [i.e. the antepenultimate vowel] longitudo effecta est duarum vocalium, unius quae est radices, alterius quae terminationis synaeresi, ita ut eorum primitiva vel in –ια, –ιας, vel in –ιος et –ιον desinant.’ He goes on to note the discomfortingly numerous exceptions.

<sup>167</sup> Petersen (1910) 217.

different stems in  $-\iota\delta-$  and  $-\bar{\iota}\delta-$ , a view that has perhaps more explanatory power than Petersen's (particularly in view of the uncertainties in the quantity of the stems in  $-\acute{\iota}\zeta$  felt even by the Greeks, cf. Athen. 3.105d-106c on  $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\zeta$  'shrimp'); but he must then assume a much wider range of nouns with alternative stems in  $-\iota\delta-$  and  $-\bar{\iota}\delta-$  than we have attested.<sup>168</sup>

Putting this together, it is not impossible that forms get lost; in which case the mere absence of a form in  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  which would explain a form in  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  does not invalidate the derivation. If semantic bleaching of a form in  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  leads to the restrengthening of a diminutive by suffixation of  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  (thus surfacing as  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ), the creation of a more strongly marked form may indeed be the cause of the loss of the less marked form.<sup>169</sup> Chantraine's observation still holds; but in those cases we are dealing with  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  derivatives to *d*-stems of various shapes and do not need two separately productive suffixes  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  and  $-\bar{\acute{\iota}}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  to explain our data. The fact that a similar variation in length apparently does not occur in the parallel formations in  $-\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  ( $< *-\alpha\rho\iota-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ) is not a valid counterargument: the majority of these forms (of which there are in any case only 19 examples) are from the third century A.D. or later, when the quantity would have been determined by the accent anyway.<sup>170</sup>

The following table lists the nouns of this shape in Menander. Note that the tables distinguish between nouns exemplifying  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  as a derivational suffix and those

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<sup>168</sup> Chantraine (1933) 69. Dore (1964) follows Chantraine, and adds the view that the forms in  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  are unproductive archaisms preserved by metrical factors in Greek comedy.

<sup>169</sup> Note also the salutary comment of Arnott (1996b) 59-60 that the popular nature of diminutive formations may make the establishment of a rule impossible.

<sup>170</sup> Further examination of the data may reveal another condition: the contraction is long, if both vowels are acute. This explains why  $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ ,  $\tau\iota\tau\theta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ ,  $\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ ,  $*\tau\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  are affected;  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  (Diph. fr.19.2) from  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  may be analogical after  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  from  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ , cf. Isoc. 13.4. This would explain why the nouns in  $-\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  never have the long /i/, since the input never had a double acute.

which are derivatives in –ιον to *d*-stems; the latter have been dealt with under the previous table.<sup>171</sup> In addition, nouns are included here which exhibit certain morphophonemic alterations in the shape of the suffix; they will be commented on below.

ἄρτιδιον	‘piece of bread; small loaf’	rest. <i>Dysk.</i> 549 Kraus
βοΐδιον	‘cow’	<i>Sik.</i> 184
γραμματεΐδιον	‘small writing tablet’	<i>Sik.</i> 141; P. <i>Ant.</i> 55. 25; fr.238.1
γρᾶδιον	‘old woman’	<i>Georg.</i> 54, <i>Mis.</i> 629
ἔγχειρίδιον	‘dagger’	<i>Asp.</i> fr.1.6; fr.24; play title
ἑταιρίδιον	‘companion’	<i>Ep.</i> 985
θεραπεινίδιον	‘servant’	DSg. <i>Sam.</i> 251; API. <i>Dysk.</i> 460
θυγατρίδιον	‘daughter’	<i>Mis.</i> 543
ἰχθύδιον	‘little fish’	fr.351.4
καλώδιον	‘piece of rope’	<i>Dysk.</i> 580
κρεᾶδιον	‘piece of meat’	<i>Ep.</i> 21 F, fr.409.13
κωδιον	‘fleece’	<i>Sam.</i> 404
λοφίδιον	‘crest of a hill’	<i>Asp.</i> 59; <i>Dysk.</i> 100
οἰκίδιον	‘house’	<i>Pk.</i> 389
πατρίδιον	‘daddy’	<i>Dysk.</i> 499, 930
πηρίδιον	‘wallet’	<i>Ep.</i> 331
πορνίδιον	‘trollop’	<i>Ep.</i> 667 F <sup>172</sup> ; <i>Pk.</i> 340; fr.410.4
ποτηρίδιον	‘cup’	fr.26.3 <sup>173</sup>
ροΐδιον	‘pomegranate’	fr.83.2
ταμειίδιον	‘treasure chamber’	<i>Sam.</i> 233

<sup>171</sup> The lexical items affected by this distinction are ἄσπιδιον, λοπάδιον, κλειδιον, παιδιον, σανίδιον and γλαμύδιον.

<sup>172</sup> See n.12 above.

<sup>173</sup> The text of the line is unmetrical and the syntax is suspect; K.-A. mark corruption. Some have emended the word to ποτήρια, with various additions to fill the metre (Jacobs ποτήρι’ Ἴνδικά τε; Peppink ποτήρι’ ἀργυρᾶ).

χοιρίδιον	‘piglet’	fr.409.3
χωρίδιον	‘plot of land’	<i>Dysk.</i> 23; fr.394.1

*Mis.* 451 ]ιδιω may have a diminutive in –ίδιον; but not enough survives to restore anything with confidence (ἴδιος would also be possible).

Several of these forms are secure in their diminutive function and their derivation in –ίδιον since the primary is also attested in Menander, thus βοΐδιον ‘cow’ beside the far commoner βοῦς (*Car.* 20; *Col.* fr.8; fr.192; *Pk.* 769, *Car.* 19, *Dysk.* 474); parallel to βοΐδιον is ροΐδιον (from ρόα) – the forms are discussed together by Athenaeus 14.650e-651a (ροΐδιον μέντοι ὡς βοΐδιον τὸ ὑποκοριστικόν);<sup>174</sup> λοφίδιον ‘crest of a hill’ beside λόφος (*Asp.* 42, *Dysk.* 119, 165); πηρίδιον ‘wallet’, beside πήρα (*Ep.* 363, *Col.* 30, *Car.* 109, fr.193.3).

There are few secure examples of partitive diminutives with this suffix in Menander. Of the attested formations to mass nouns ιχθύδιον means ‘a small fish’, not ‘a piece of fish’; κῶδιον may have a deteriorative sense (‘I’ll send the spleen and fine bones to the gods, but just the [inedible, mere] fleece to my friends, and keep the meat myself’), but is more likely to be lexicalised (the Supplement to LSJ cites Philostr. *Her.*15.6 as an attestation of the plural in partitive function). On the other hand the syntax of fr.409.13 (κρεάδια in apposition to τραγήματα) seems to require the partitive;<sup>175</sup> and at *Dysk.* 580

<sup>174</sup> Pace Schwyzer (1959) 562 ροΐδιον is not derived from ροῦς ‘sumach’ (not ‘Granatapfel’, *op. cit.*).

<sup>175</sup> According to Schwyzer (1959) 265 such forms were the result of quantitative metathesis of –ᾶιδιον > –ῶιδιον. Note that unlike his example σπηλάδιον, this form does not require an input of \*-aii- (\*σπηλαι-ίδιον to σπηλαῖον) but presupposes the allomorph with /i/, on the analogy of forms from –αῖον; see further p.148, n.496

Simiche seems to be talking about a particular *piece* of rope (καλώδιον) that breaks, though the diminutive may be deteriorative (‘the blasted rope’) instead.<sup>176</sup>

The pragmatics of diminutive formations in politeness can be seen in the use of πατρίδιον; this is never used to an actual father, only by low-status characters (Sikon at *Dysk.* 499, Getas at *Dysk.* 930) to an old man (Knemon in both cases). Given the context of Sikon’s use of the word, in which he has just boasted of his skill in using proper terms of address to gain the sympathy of someone loaning him cooking utensils, we are to understand the diminutive as an attempt to build a connection. The use of diminutives in order to minimise the impact (and thus maximise the politeness) of a request is well documented (see p.46).

The noun ἐγχειρίδιον is claimed both as the starting point of the diminutive force of –ίδιον (by reanalysis of a substantivised adjective meaning ‘that which is in the hand, ἐν χειρί’),<sup>177</sup> and as a compound;<sup>178</sup> the second view is certainly incorrect.

The following nouns are attested with the long vowel variant of the suffix: οἰκίδιον, χωρίδιον; both are attested next to nouns in plain –ιον (in fact, –ίον), but this does not prove the history of –ίδιον endorsed above.

There is one diminutive noun in –ύδιον, a *hapax legomenon*:<sup>179</sup>

ξενύδιον	‘guest’	fr.351.3
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Judging from the context, this noun has deteriorative semantics (a cook is complaining about guests).<sup>180</sup> Petersen’s explanation of the suffix traces it back to

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<sup>176</sup> On the other hand, the irregular inflection of κάλως seems to have led to early lexicalisation of the diminutive.

<sup>177</sup> Petersen (1910) 220-1.

<sup>178</sup> Petersen (1910) 224.

<sup>179</sup> For this suffix see Petersen (1910) 246-8, whose explanation of the origin of the suffix must be rejected; Chantraine (1933) 72f.; Monteil (1972).

a deteriorative, specifically a form \*θηλύδριον assumed on the basis of θηλυδρίας; this \*θηλύδριον is in turn explained as the suffix –δριον (generalised from forms like ἀνδρίον) added to the *u*-stem. The details of this are implausible. Monteil’s assumption of compounds in ὄδριον (derived from ὕδωρ) is much better motivated;<sup>181</sup> but the suffix remains well attested in deteriorative function.<sup>182</sup> Since the 31 derivatives with this suffix are distributed evenly both among the dialects and chronologically,<sup>183</sup> they are therefore usually ascribed to a long-standing popular feature of speech. Since this form is a *hapax legomenon*, we might be entitled to conclude that the suffix was at this date still productive.

Another type represented by only one noun in Menander is the suffix –ύλλιον.<sup>184</sup>

μειρακύλλιον	‘boy’	<i>Dysk.</i> 27, <i>Ep.</i> 169
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The two attestations are interesting because they equivocate in the force of the diminutive: Pan in the *Dyskolos* seems to be referring to one whose intellectual powers are surprising for his age; so the diminutive force must still have some value. On the other hand, in the *Epitrepontes* the reference is to the rowdy crowd of drunken men who in New Comedy traditionally perform the choral interludes; we might compare the use of the English word ‘lad’.

The suffix –άριον<sup>185</sup> was rather more productive as a diminutive suffix. In origin it is usually regarded as having started from diminutives to thematic nouns in –αρο–, thus:

<sup>180</sup> Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 707.

<sup>181</sup> Monteil (1972). It might be added that forms such as λογύδριον, μυθύδριον etc. correspond to the frequent equation of ‘liquids’ and ‘forms of speech’ in Indo-European languages (e.g. the form *śrotapeyam* ‘worth being drunk by the ear, i.e. worth hearing’ Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta* 1.13; see further García Ramón (2009) 87-102, esp. 92, §23).

<sup>182</sup> Petersen (1910) 247, esp. §327 ‘personal names in –ύδριον are always deteriorative’.

<sup>183</sup> According to Buck/Petersen (1948) 100.

<sup>184</sup> Schwyzler (1959) 484 (on diminutive and augmentative –λο–), 485 (on –ύλλιον); for the origin of the suffix (personal names in –υλος) see Leumann (1953). The suffix is also rare in the papyri, see Mayser (1937) 45.

οἴναρον ‘vine’ => οἰνάριον ‘wine, poor wine’.<sup>186</sup>

From such formations, and because of the overlapping semantics of οἰνάριον and οἶνος, the suffix –άριον was extracted and used independently. Petersen also draws attention to the existence of neuter nominalisations of adjectives in –άριος, thus e.g. ἐσχάριος ‘belonging to the hearth’ => ἐσχάριον ‘pan of coals’, implying that these would have allowed the –άριον type a greater foothold in the system. The semantic basis of this was the original adjectival force of the –άριον derivatives, shown by phrases such as σῶμα παιδάριον (parallel to σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον or γυναικεῖον), οἰνάριον εἶδος (ἦδος Petersen, ἦδος Schweighaeuser, Kock) Antiphanes fr.132.<sup>187</sup> Petersen’s argument does not seem to relate –άριον to the adjectives in –αρός. This may however provide a better source for the suffix: adjectives in –αρός could be rebuilt in –άριος, then used as substantival neuters, which, through syntagmata such as \*οἰνάριον (δένδρον), become associated with the diminutive –ιον suffix. The semantics of the suffix is then redetermined by this reanalysis.<sup>188</sup>

The data we see in Menander are listed below:

ἀπφάριον	‘dear girl’	fr.652
ἰστάριον	‘beam of a loom’	fr.79
μισθάριον	‘wage’	fr.220.2

<sup>185</sup> For –άριον cf. Chantraine (1933) 74-5, Mayser (1937) 43-4.

<sup>186</sup> Thus Petersen (1910) 260; Chantraine (1933) 74f.

<sup>187</sup> This is not the place to go into the numerous difficulties of this fragment (Meineke: ‘Vs. 3 lacunam indicavit Dindorfius. Sequentia nemo dum expedit’). I only note that several editors, including K.-A. have punctuated the text differently, and in such a way that would make Petersen’s view untenable. And whatever the truth of the punctuation, I do not understand the relation between ‘a vine kind (of wine)’ (if this is even meaningful) and ‘poor wine’ – a distinction between filtered and unfiltered wine? Even so, it is hard to see then how the transition to a diminutive actually works.

<sup>188</sup> I owe this suggestion to Andreas Willi.

νητάριον	‘duckling, dearest’	fr.652
ὄψάριον	‘fish’	<i>Car.</i> fr.1.2; fr.152.2
παιδάριον	‘slave-boy; child’	‘slave boy’ SAEPE ‘child’ SAEPE
παιδισκάριον	‘silly girl’	<i>Mis.</i> fr.4.1 ; fr.296.15
πλοιάριον	‘small boat’	fr.64.9
σκευάριον	‘vessel implement’	fr.488
χιτωνάριον	‘woman’s frock’	fr.471.2

At *Ph.* 65 we can read only ]ριον; the context is damaged, but presumably we have here a word with this suffix. It is significant that the speaker here is a cook.<sup>189</sup>

The full range of diminutive semantics is displayed here; the two forms ἀπάριον (attested elsewhere only in Xenarchus, fr.4.15) and νητάριον (also at *Ar. Pl.*1011) both have affectionate semantics,<sup>190</sup> while μισθάριον may be deteriorative (‘my paltry wages’), though LSJ claim this use only for the plural,<sup>191</sup> as is παιδισκάριον. The two diminutive suffixes in this form both contribute independently to the semantics (diminutive –ίσκος and deteriorative –άριον); this is not a case of restrengthening. The word ιστάριον, finally, seems to be partitive (‘part of a loom’ >> ‘a particular part of a loom, the beam’).

The word ὄψάριον ‘fish’, derived from ὄψον ‘Beilage’, is inherited as ψάρι in Modern Greek, at the expense of ἰχθύς (now only in compounds and learned

<sup>189</sup> For cooks’ language see n.420.

<sup>190</sup> According to Σ D. Thrax *Ars Gramm., Gr. Gramm.* I 3, 227, 25 Hilgard), who quotes both terms. For the discovery of ἀπάριον in a longer version of this scholion see Theodoridis (1975). Both νητάριον and ἀπάριον are said to refer to girls by Dionysius Thrax; but the Xenarchus passage attests ἀπάριον at least in the sense ‘young man’ (in this case, at a brothel).

<sup>191</sup> Cf. *Hipp. Praec.* 7 and *P. Tebt.* 413. 13 (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.). That the word must have had some kind of diminutive value is shown by the frequent attestation of μισθός elsewhere in Menander: *Asp.* 217, *Ep.* 549; *Sik.* 348.

words). It has been argued that the development of the word to mean ‘fish’ specifically, was a development in popular language reflected by ancient comedy (apart from Menander cf. Alexis fr.177.2, Philemon fr.32.2).<sup>192</sup>

The large number of unique forms (four from ten lexemes) shows that this suffix was highly productive in this period.<sup>193</sup> On the other hand, the semantics of ἀπφάριον and νηττάριον make it likely that generic, rather than morphological considerations account for its rarity; such a word is unlikely to enter most of our literary record.

The final diminutive suffix to be discussed is the suffix –ίσκος.<sup>194</sup> This suffix may be among the earliest attested diminutive suffixes in Greek, if the Mycenaean form *ti-ri-po-di-ko* PY Cn 599.8, MY Ue 611 in fact represents τριποδίσκος;<sup>195</sup> but both the interpretation of the form and the age of the diminutive meaning of this suffix are in doubt.<sup>196</sup> The suffix appears in alphabetic Greek for the first time in post-Homeric lyric,<sup>197</sup> e.g. ἀλίσκος ‘small flute’ (: ἀλόος)<sup>198</sup> and is immediately in competition with –ιον. Strikingly, it is used by Ionic and Doric writers but does not seem to have been used in Aeolic.<sup>199</sup> The suffix will usually be marked for the gender of the noun from which the derivative has been built.<sup>200</sup>

From our evidence, the suffix is not much used after –ιον becomes productive; –

<sup>192</sup> For a comprehensive study of this word see Kalitsunakis (1926).

<sup>193</sup> Though apparently less so than in Aristophanes, with 12 *hapax legomena* among 14 examples.

<sup>194</sup> Petersen (1913) is a full study; cf. also Chantraine (1933) 406-413.

<sup>195</sup> Chantraine (1956) 103 n.1; cf. Palmer (1963) 364f. For a full dossier and discussion of the Mycenaean forms with this suffix see Chantraine (1966).

<sup>196</sup> Petersen (1913) considers the diminutive sense old, but secondary; on his view the suffix’s original force was ‘like x’, where x is the stem to which it is suffixed.

<sup>197</sup> The suffix becomes characteristic for iambic genres in general: Callimachus has only ἄστερισκος in iambus, and may have taken the word from Hipponax (fr.32.5 West – though Degani has ἄσκερίσκα (?), referring to Schmitt, and compiling lots of evidence for neuter diminutives in –ίσκον). Merone (1953) 30 lists 11 examples of diminutives in –ίσκος/–ίσκη out of 39 diminutives in Herondas.

<sup>198</sup> Chantraine (1966) 162f. for discussion

<sup>199</sup> Chantraine (1933) 408.

<sup>200</sup> Petersen (1913) 151f.

ἴσκος thus seems to lose productivity in the fifth century. However, in the Koiné it is refunctionalised and once again spreads, being used by prose authors to coin technical vocabulary for animals, plants, statues and various technical tools. The basis for this was apparently the ability of the suffix to refer to something which resembled something else; thus the lizard resembling the king, βασιλεύς, is called the βασιλίσκος (cf. Hipp. *Ep.* 19), a plant with something star shaped (presumably the flower) was called the ἀστερίσκος. Certain forms show that the diminutive force of the suffix has at this stage been lost entirely.<sup>201</sup>

The derivatives in Menander will of necessity stand somewhat to the side of this history: as he is not a technical writer, we would not expect him to use the suffix much if it had already become specialised. Menander will not help us date the refunctionalisation of the suffix. On the other hand, his text does confirm this suffix's loss in productivity, since no new forms are attested in his text. All forms in Menander are found in older comic texts as well.

καλαθίσκος	'female clothing item' <sup>202</sup>	fr.497
μειρακίσκος	'young man'	<i>Asp.</i> 128, <i>Georg.</i> 4
νεανίσκος	'young man'	<i>Asp.</i> 332, <i>Theoph.</i> 20; <i>Dysk.</i> 39; <i>Georg.</i> 69, <i>Dysk.</i> 792, <i>Pk.</i> 129, <i>Dysk.</i> 414, <i>FabInc.</i> 54; <i>Asp.</i> 133, <i>Dysk.</i> 414
παιδίσκη	'young girl; virgin'	'young girl' <i>Asp.</i> 141 SAEPE 'virgin' <i>Her.</i> 38
χιτωνίσκος	'small/nice cloak'	<i>Sik.</i> 280

<sup>201</sup> Chantraine (1933) 73, Mayser (1937) 44-5.

<sup>202</sup> The sense was uncertain even in antiquity though. Hesychius κ 392, from whom this fragment is taken, glosses the word as a σκεῦος γυναικεῖον; elsewhere the word also refers to a kind of dance.

Similar in shape but not in fact containing this suffix is ῥίσκος (*Sik.* 389) ‘coffer’ (ἵνα ἀποτίθενται αἱ ἐσθῆτες, *Poll.* 10.137); Donatus, commenting on *Ter. Eun.* 754, claimed that this word was a ‘nomen Phrygium’. Haas rejects this view, but accepts that an origin in Asia Minor more broadly may be possible.<sup>203</sup>

Since the suffix is of limited productivity, it may be useful in telling us what lexemes were prone to being made diminutive. Since *Augenblicksbildungen* are not expected to survive, while higher frequency words will do, those lexemes that survive the loss of the suffix’s productivity must have been high frequency to begin with. Our words all refer either to people or items of clothing, so we may conclude that these were common targets in the formation of diminutives.<sup>204</sup> The word χιτωνίσκος is particularly interesting, as it contrast with the word χιτωνάριον (see previous table); the two forms have slightly different semantics within the field of diminutive meanings.

In conclusion, this section has given us an overview of diminutive morphology in Menander; this was found to represent several semantic fields, of which SMALL SIZE, POOR QUALITY, and PARTITIVE were the most widely represented. This latter was of particular interest, as it has been overlooked in studies of the ancient Greek diminutive. It is striking that Menander has only one form on which two suffixes have been heaped (παιδισκάριον) and that this is not a case of restrengthening, but of further semantic specification of the diminutive. It is also interesting that Menander does not seem systematically to rebuild athematic nouns as diminutives; but some pragmatically frequent diminutive forms are the input to Modern Greek words.

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<sup>203</sup> Haas (1966) 136-7.

<sup>204</sup> Wackernagel (1909) 6-8. Cross-linguistically, clothing terms are frequently marked as diminutives.

2.1.2 *Nomina actionis*

2.1.2.1 –(σ)μός<sup>205</sup>

The suffix –μό– was used in the formation of verbal abstracts already at a prehistoric stage, cf. ἄνεμος: Lat. *animus* (< \**h<sub>2</sub>enh<sub>1</sub>-mó-*), cf. Skt. *aniti*. Within Greek, this suffix is attached to verbal stems of various kinds (thus τιλμός to τίλλω). Thence it becomes especially associated with verbs in –άζω, –ίζω and –ύζω (usually but not exclusively denominatives) forming initially nouns in –γμό– to stems in gutturals next to the type in –σμό– to verbs in dentals, thus ὀλολογμός to ὀλολύζω, πνιγμός to πνίζω (< \**-g-iḏ*)<sup>206</sup> beside λογισμός to λογίζω.<sup>207</sup> Parallel to developments in verbal stem formation in Attic, in which –σω, –σα are generalised as future and aorist stems to verbs in –ζω, regardless of the original ending of the stem,<sup>208</sup> the sigmatic forms spread in the nominal system as well. The denominal verbs in –ίζω and –άζω, being particularly productive in their own right, become a source for the spread of –μός; from these forms (e.g. λογίζω >> λογισμός, στασιάζω >> στασιασμός) the suffixes –ισμό– and –ασμό– are extracted, becoming productive in their own turn.

The evidence of Menander’s text shows that the suffix is still productive in this period. The attestations in Menander are as follows:

ἀγαπησμός	‘love’	fr.338.2
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<sup>205</sup> Chantraine (1933) 132-150; Mayser (1937) 61-64.

<sup>206</sup> See the list given by Chantraine (1933) 135f.

<sup>207</sup> Some indirect traces of an early sigmatic form \**-smó-* are seen by Chantraine already in e.g. ἰωχμός with aspirate vs. ἰωκή, cf. Chantraine (1933) 138. Porzig (1942) 238 also points to doublets with and without /s/; thus in the *parepigraphai* at A. *Eum.* 117-29 we read μυγμός (< \**-mo-*), whereas in Hom. *Od.* 24.416 we have a form μυχμός (\**-smo-*); it should be pointed out however that in this case the *parepigraphai* are not good evidence as they are undatable, see Taplin (1977) 15 n.1

<sup>208</sup> This is not however a pandialectal development, see Buck (1955) 115.

Word-Formation

ἀναγνωρισμός	‘recognition’	<i>Ep.</i> 1121; ]ρισμο[ <i>Sik.</i> 322
ἀναλογισμός	‘calculation’	fr.333.3
ἀριθμός	‘number’	<i>Asp.</i> 151; fr.130.4
ἀρχαϊσμός	‘archaism’	fr.330. 2
βιασμός	‘rape’	<i>Ep.</i> 453
βρυχηθμός	‘lamentation’	<i>Ep.</i> 893
βωμός	‘altar’	P.Ant. 55. 22, fr.224. 12; <i>Pk.</i> 99
ἐπηρεασμός	‘despiteful treatment’	<i>Dysk.</i> 178
κιγκλισμός	‘confusion’	fr.369
κόσμος	‘jewellery’	NSg. <i>Pk.</i> . 816; ASg. <i>Ep.</i> 247, 301, 305; <i>Con.</i> 4; <i>Pk.</i> 516; ]μηκοσμο[ fr.910. 15 <sup>209</sup>
λογισμός	‘calculation’	NSg. <i>Dysk.</i> 344; fr.738. 1; <sup>210</sup> ASg. fr.67.2; <i>Mis.</i> 802; <i>Sam.</i> 420, 620; <i>Sik.</i> 25, 115; <i>P.Ant.</i> 55. 14; GSg. fr.191. 2; fr.641.2; DSg. fr.191. 5; DPl. <i>Dysk.</i> 719, fr.125. 2, fr.286. 3, fr.282
μερισμός	‘division’	<i>Ep.</i> 461
μυκτηρισμός	‘deception’	fr.615 (gloss)
νουθετησμός	‘warning’	fr.629 (gloss)
ὄδυρμός	‘lamentation’	<i>Asp.</i> 57
ὄλολυγμός	‘cheering’	<i>Theoph.</i> frag. dub. 22
ὄψωνιασμός	‘preparation of fish’	fr.588 (gloss)
παραλογισμός	‘false reasoning’	fr.738.1 <sup>211</sup>
πνιγμός	‘choking’	<i>Asp.</i> 423

<sup>209</sup> It is not entirely clear that this fragment is genuine Menander.

<sup>210</sup> Fr.738 must be παραλογισμός unless either (a) anastrophe of a preposition is accepted for M. or (b) there is deeper corruption; cf. *Sik.* 115 (διαλ- vs. διὰ λ-).

<sup>211</sup> See n.210 for details of this fragment.

πότιμος	‘fate’	<i>Pk.</i> 806 πο[
ρυθμός	‘rhythm’	<i>ASg. Dysk.</i> 910, 952
στασιασμός	‘strife’	<i>fr.</i> 574 (gloss)
συγκλυσμός		<i>fr.</i> 420.6
τηγανισμός	‘frying’	<i>fr.</i> 195 (gloss)
τιλμός	‘plucking’	<i>Ep.</i> 893
ψιθυρισμός	‘whispering’	<i>Mis.</i> 540

A papyrus suspected to be Menander, *P.Oxy.* 866 (= *P.Oxy.* 2654 fr.7), has the reading ]πολισμου[; since the same text has ]αρχηδονιο[ a few lines down, the papyrus may come from the *Carchedonius*; palaeographical considerations even led Turner to speculate that *P.Oxy.* 688 and *P.Oxy.* 2654 came from the same roll.<sup>212</sup> Even if this argument were certain, it would not secure the first attestation of πολισμός for Menander (otherwise first D. H. 1. 57, 69); the ed. pr. divides the words ]πόλις μου [. The fact that Menander uses πόλισμα at *Sam.* 325 may also tell against the interpretation of this papyrus as carrying a form of πολισμός as he does not otherwise have such doublets (and see p.75 on the status of πόλισμα).

Purely statistically, Menander’s text gives us more nouns in –σμός than we might expect for a dramatic writer with so fragmentary a corpus: comparing fifth-century verse writers, we find 19 in Menander, 17 in Aristophanes and 20 in Euripides.<sup>213</sup> According to Rosenstrauch, eight of these nouns are attested for the first time in Menander: ἀγαπησμός; ἀναγνωρισμός; ἀρχαῖσμός; βιασμός; βρυχηθμός; ὀψωνιασμός; τηγανισμός; ψιθυρισμός. Schwyzer adds

<sup>212</sup> Turner (1968) 8. However, the respective writers’ letter forms of P, M, Y, and A speak against this.

<sup>213</sup> Rosenstrauch (1964) 61; our list of 27 words is one of the suffix –μος, not only of –σμός, while Rosenstrauch excluded the archaic layer of vocabulary (ῥυθμός, ὄδυρμός, etc.) from his investigation.

νουθετησμός.<sup>214</sup> The noun *μυκτηρισμός* is also a *hapax* (bringing our total to ten). However, not all of these can in fact be claimed as innovations by Menander: *ἀναγνωρισμός* is first at Arist. *Po.* 1452a16, *βιασμός* in Eupolis fr.72. As for *βρυχηθμός*, the noun is first attested neither in Oppian,<sup>215</sup> nor in Menander,<sup>216</sup> but in Arist. *Mir.* 843a22; Menander's innovation is the use of the word in the metaphorical sense 'lamentation'. A similar transfer of a noun to a metaphorical sense is seen in *κιγκλισμός*, found in Hipp. *Art.*71 as a 'sudden movement', verbal noun to *κιγκλίζω* 'wag the tail; change constantly' (in Theogn. 303), but used by Menander, according to the gloss *τάραχος*, to mean 'disorder, confusion'.<sup>217</sup> Again, *μυκτηρισμός* is attested in later literature as 'sneering, turning up the nose' (*μυκτήρ*); but Poll. 2.78 glosses it as *ἐξαπάτη* 'deception'. By contrast *ἀγαπησμός*, *νουθετησμός* and *τηγανισμός* are genuine *hapax legomena*, save for statements by grammarians or lexicographers.<sup>218</sup>

In sum, then, the seven asterisked forms in the table are the nouns considered here to be first attested in Menander. Two further nouns are attested in a unique sense: *βρυχηθμός* and *κιγκλισμός*. The nouns *ἀγαπησμός*, *ἐπηρεασμός*, *νουθετησμός*, *ὄψωνιασμός*, *στασιασμός* and *συγκλυσμός* are either only attested in Menander or are vanishingly rare in later periods; their technical nature corresponds to the use of the suffix elsewhere.<sup>219</sup> The fact that the suffix was used in the formation of

<sup>214</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 493; this is in fact first attested in Aristotle.

<sup>215</sup> Thus Chantraine (1933) 137.

<sup>216</sup> Thus Rosenstrauch (1964) 62.

<sup>217</sup> Nouns in *-θμός* are frequently used for 'Lautäußerungen und Bewegungen', cf. Porzig (1942) 236-7 who also gives a complete list of examples from archaic Greek literature.

<sup>218</sup> See, for example, Pollux 10. 98 for a condemnation of the word *τηγανισμός*.

<sup>219</sup> Debrunner (1917) 154 §305; Chantraine (1933) 140; Schmitt (1970) 114 on Callimachus' coinages *κιθαρισμός* and *θερισμός*. It is striking that even Callimachus seems to be more restrained than Menander in the use of this suffix. This may point to the suffix's distance from literary or *recherché* registers in Greek.

words that were not ultimately lexicalised confirms its productivity in this period.<sup>220</sup>

#### 2.1.2.2 –σις<sup>221</sup>

Three types of nouns in –σις can be divided, for historical purposes, into three derivational kinds: those built to Ø-grades of the root (type δόσις ‘giving’) and thought originally to derive from compounds; those built to ‘heavy bases’ (type γνῶσις ‘knowing’); and the productive category of nouns derived from sigmatic stems (i.e. from the future or aorist stem, types μάθησις ‘learning’, σκέδασις ‘scattering’). Now of course we should analyse the first two types in the same way, seeing them both as Ø-grades (\*dh<sub>3</sub>-ti- vs. \*ǵh<sub>3</sub>-ti-).<sup>222</sup>

Already in post-Homeric lyric the main productive type is the sigmatic formation, while the ‘heavy base’ type only increases by means of compounding. In the same period two further innovations can be seen: the development of the type ἄμελις directly formed to the present stem of ἀμέλω (and cf. λέξις from λέγω); and the development of nouns formed from denominative verbs (or at least according to the pattern of denominative verbs). Thus we see forms like κενέσις << \*κενεόω << κενεός; χόρευσις << χορεύω << χορός. This is significant, since –σις takes over from –τύς, the suffix used in Homer to derive abstract nouns from denominative verbs.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>220</sup> The data of Philemon and Diphilus complement this picture: Diphilus uses just one noun in –σμός, namely σιλουρισμός ‘eating silurus’ (fr.17.11); Philemon gives us the first attestation of ἄκκισμός ‘prudery’ (fr.3.14).

<sup>221</sup> For the Greek situation in general, see Chantraine (1933) 275-89, Mayser (1937) 65-71, and especially Holt (1941); for the nouns in Menander see Rosenstrauch (1964) 62-4.

<sup>222</sup> Following Holt (1941).

<sup>223</sup> Risch (1937) 36, §17.

Semantically, Holt suggests that these nouns are best understood in aspectual contrast to other verbal abstract nouns, for example those in  $-\mu\alpha$ .<sup>224</sup> Nouns in  $-\mu\alpha$  can be seen as having punctual value (e.g.  $\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha$  ‘an acquisition, a possession’) as opposed to the nouns in  $-\sigma\iota\varsigma$  with ‘imperfective’ aspect ( $\kappa\tau\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$  ‘possessing, acquiring’). In addition, he saw a tripartite functional division already active in Homer which cut across the formational types, with some nouns able to take on all three senses. Thus, Pindar attests  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$  as ‘action of using’ (according to Holt, the primary function, termed by him ‘possibilité’), as ‘need’ (Holt’s ‘fonction gnomique’), and as ‘consulting an oracle’ (the ‘fonction terminologique’).<sup>225</sup> Already by the time of Pindar, the third type has become the most frequent, under the influence of the developing use of the suffix in scientific discourse. This account of the suffix is however problematic: Holt is quite vague about how his semantic categories are to be defined, as well as how they might interact.

Long’s analysis offers us a more complete picture of how these nouns behave; although his focus is Sophocles, many of his observations are applicable to Menander.<sup>226</sup> He goes further than Holt’s aspectual distinctions to suggest a much closer relationship between the verbal nouns and the verbal system more generally, in particular pointing out cases as early as Homer where the nouns practically form periphrases (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 22.270 οὐ τοι ἔτ’ ἔσθ’ ὑπάλυσις ‘there is no escape for you’, i.e. ‘you cannot escape’). In his analysis of examples from Sophocles, the use of  $-\sigma\iota\varsigma$  nouns in periphrasis acts as no more than a stylish alternative to main verbs.

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<sup>224</sup> This idea has also been developed by theoretical linguists, though Holt’s work does not appear to be known to them. See Rijkhoff (1999), with bibliography 304-305 n.2.

<sup>225</sup> For the terminology, Holt (1941) 170, for  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , 103-4.

<sup>226</sup> Long (1968).

Finally, Freundlich, true to the subtitle of his monograph, provides an even more systematic grammar of abstract nouns in Thucydides. He identifies four main kinds of periphrasis in which verbal abstracts are either subjects (with εἶναι or γίγνεσθαι) or objects (of ἔχειν or ποιεῖσθαι / ποιεῖν) within an explicitly functional framework.<sup>227</sup> We will see that the situation in Menander is very different: while Thucydides could use these words almost as an integrated part of the verbal system,<sup>228</sup> the process of nominalisation is so far advanced in Menander that many are scarcely felt to be verbal derivatives any more.

The following nouns are attested in Menander:

αἴρεσις	‘choice’	<i>Sik.</i> fr.6.1 (= fr.697.1 K.-A.); <sup>229</sup> fr.688.2
ἀνάβασις	‘staircase’	<i>Sam.</i> 235
ἀνάπαυσις	‘rest’	<i>Asp.</i> 12; <i>Dysk.</i> 344
ἀπόκρισις	‘answer’	<i>Mis.</i> 711
ἀφαίρεσις	‘theft’	<i>Ep.</i> 319
δέησις	‘entreaty, need’	<i>Sik.</i> 417
διάγνωσις	‘means of distinguishing’	fr.872.3
δόσις	‘gift’	<i>Ep.</i> 310
ἑκδοσις	‘contract-farming’	<i>Pk.</i> 282
ἑκστασις	‘excitement; ecstasy’	<i>Asp.</i> 422; <i>Ep.</i> 893; <i>Asp.</i> 308; <i>Ench.</i> fr.1.2 Arnott (= 136.2 K.- T.)
ἐξάίρεσις	‘takings’	fr.539.2
ἐξέτασις	‘enquiry’	<i>Sik.</i> 277 (Kassel)
ἐπίδειξις	‘proof’	fr.125.2

<sup>227</sup> Freundlich (1987) 20-1, 42.

<sup>228</sup> See especially Freundlich (1987) 38 on the ‘Neutralisierung zweier Diathesen’.

<sup>229</sup> This fragment was speculatively assigned to the *Sikyonios* by Nauck, followed by Sandbach. K.-A. however include the fragment among the other book fragments without connecting it to this play.

Word-Formation

ἐπίθεσις	‘attack’	<i>Asp.</i> 103
ἐπιτίμησις	‘raising in price’	fr.62
ἐπίχυσις	‘jug’	fr.395.1
ἑστίασις	‘banquet’	fr.265.3
εὔρεσις	‘find(ing)’	<i>Ep.</i> 319
κάκωσις	‘ill-treatment’	fr.239.2
κατάλυσις	‘dissolution’	fr.871.4 <sup>230</sup>
κατάστασις	‘establishment’	<i>Sik.</i> 175 <sup>231</sup>
κρίσις	‘decision’	<i>Ep.</i> 358, 361, 372; fr.291; fr.772.2; fr.791.3
κτῆσις	‘possession’	fr.800.3
λήψις	‘seizing’	<i>GPI. Mis.</i> 682 <sup>232</sup>
λύσις	‘release’	<i>Ep.</i> 1109
μάθησις	‘doctrine’	fr.845.3
μῆνυσις	‘declaration’	<i>Pk.</i> 166
οἴησις	‘thought’	<i>Mis.</i> 670
ὄνησις	‘benefit’	<i>Her.</i> 49; <i>Col.</i> fr.1.7
ὄνθυλευσις	‘forced meat’	fr.351.7
ὄρασις	‘sight’	<i>DE.</i> fr.2. 3
ὄψις	‘face; sight, vision’	<i>Dysk.</i> 656; <i>Mis.</i> 93, 561, 611; <i>Sik.</i> 215, fr.5; fr.791.2; fr.352.1; fr.296.7; fr.803.2
παράκυψις	‘stooping’	fr.189 <sup>233</sup>
παράστασις	‘deposit’; ‘penchant’	fr.238.2; fr.761.8
παράταξις	‘battle line’	fr.51.1
πράξις	‘action’	<i>Georg.</i> 6; <i>Her.</i> 46; <i>Sam.</i> 50; <i>Georg.</i> 44; <i>Col.</i> 4

<sup>230</sup> The line is corrupt, and some emendations remove the form.

<sup>231</sup> This word is included in Katsouris (2004), but it is Handley’s restoration *exempli gratia* (Arnott offers τὴν γε συμφορὰν, which is at least as likely).

<sup>232</sup> ‘The gaps in the text here defy coherent supplementation’ (Arnott (1996a) 320 n.18).

<sup>233</sup> Zenobius attributes this proverbial expression to Menander. It is not clear from the text of the entry whether or not the actual word παράκυψις is used in Menander; the text may have referred to the proverb in a rather more subtle way.

πρόκλησις	‘court summons’ <sup>234</sup>	<i>P.Ant.</i> 55.22
προσαγόρευσις	‘address’	fr.287.3
πρόφασις	‘pretext’	<i>Con.</i> 20; <i>Asp.</i> 21, 394; <i>Dysk.</i> 135, 322; <i>Sam.</i> 354, 76; <i>Ph.</i> 7 <sup>235</sup> ; fr.847; fr.171
ῥῆσις	‘(dramatic) speech’	<i>Ep.</i> 1125
σύγκρασις	‘mixture’	<i>Sik.</i> fr.6.2 (= fr.697.2 K.-A.)
σύμπεισις	‘persuasion’	<i>Ep.</i> 716
σύνεσις	‘knowledge’	fr.322.2; fr.691.1, 2; fr.745.2; fr.754
ὑπόθεσις	‘mortgage’	fr.428 (gloss)
ὑπόστασις	‘jelly’	fr.351.10
φρόνησις	‘good sense’	<i>Cith.</i> 80; fr.829
φύσις	‘nature’	fr.191.1, fr.219.2, fr.250, fr.257.1, fr.286.1, fr.300.4

The noun ἔμφρασις, taken up by Katsouris in his concordance, is in a fragment not now considered genuine Menander (fr.*adesp.* 1027 K.-A.).

The idea of looking specifically at the nouns in –σις is not new; our earliest comment on these nouns in Menander is made by the Antiatticist: ὑπόθεσιν ἄντι τοῦ ὑποθήκη. Μένανδρος (fr.428).<sup>236</sup> As far as we know these words basically overlapped, except that only ὑποθήκη is attested meaning ‘mortgage, pledge, security’; the strongest claim is thus that Menander used ὑπόθεσις in this particular sense. It is unlikely that the comment is only making a morphological point.

The –σις nouns formed to Ø-grades of simple or ‘disyllabic’ roots are only productive in so far as they may be compounded. Deverbative formations,

<sup>234</sup> For the sense see Arnott (1999) 51-2.

<sup>235</sup> Conj. Jernstedt.

<sup>236</sup> Bekker (1814) 115.

however, particularly to the sigmatic stems, are very healthy, accounting for 29 of the 53 lexemes; of particular interest is σύμπεισις ‘persuasion’ at *Ep.* 716, which is a *hapax* and therefore demonstrates the predominant means by which these nouns are formed. All kinds of denominative verb are used as bases for this derivation.

Turning to the function of these nouns, we discussed above their rôle in the verbal system in earlier Greek. Menander still uses these nouns in contexts familiar from other writers, thus we find periphrases with γίγνεσθαι (as complement: *Con.* 20 πρόφασις),<sup>237</sup> with εἶναι (*Her.* 49 ὄνησις; *Asp.* 12 ἀνάπαυσις; *Dysk.* 656 ὄψις; fr.322 σύνεσις, and as complement *Ep.* 319 ἀφαίρεσις, εὔρεσις)<sup>238</sup> and ποιεῖν (as subject *Sik.* fr.6.1 αἴρεσις, fr.745 σύνεσις; as object fr.287.3 προσαγόρευσις, *Sik.* fr.6.2 σύγκρασις). These usages are familiar from earlier Greek as well.<sup>239</sup>

On the other hand, the nominalisation of these ‘verbal abstracts’ means that they are attested in many more syntactical circumstances than previously usual; verbs to which they form objects in the accusative include εὔρεῖν *Asp.* 21 (πρόφασις), φέρειν fr.872.3 (διάγνωσις), λέγειν *Dysk.* 322 (πρόφασις); *Ep.* 1125 (ῥῆσις), ῥίπτειν fr.539.2 (ἐξαίρεσις), (κατα)λαμβάνειν *Ep.* 1109 (λύσις), *Asp.* 394, *Dysk.* 135 (πρόφασις), δίδοναι *Col.* fr.1.7 (ὄνησις), ἐπιτιθέναι *P.Ant.* 55. 22 (πρόκλησις); in the dative after χρᾶσθαι fr.845.3 (μάθησις); and in the genitive after δέομαι *Ep.* 716 (σύμπεισις) and γέμειν fr.691.1 (σύνεσις). This is a significant difference between Menander and fifth-century usage, for example. Particularly instructive is the case of *Col.* fr.1.7, where ὄνησις is apparently used

<sup>237</sup> For the modal value of this construction see Freundlich (1987) 30.

<sup>238</sup> *Sam.* 235 ἡ ἀνάβασίς ἐστὶ is, however, not a periphrasis, since the term ἀνάβασίς is lexicalised (‘staircase’).

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Freundlich (1987) 25-42 for these constructions in Thucydides.

in the sense ‘benefit’, that is a concrete, discrete action; similarly fr.539.2 where ἐξάρεσις is used in a concrete financial sense. The aspectual distinctions identified by Holt for the classical period appear no longer to hold, whether this is to do with chronology or linguistic register.

These nouns can also be used to resume verbal ideas anaphorically.<sup>240</sup> One example is at *Pk.* 282; the passage is difficult, and lacunose, but it seems that the phrase ἐκδότης <ὄν> ‘being a contract farmer’<sup>241</sup> is picked up by ἐκδόσει ‘by contract-farming’. The abstract noun is thus equivalent to the participle phrase. The use of the causal dative at fr.688.2, where αἰρέσει stands in contrast to διὰ τύχην, is similar. Another example of anaphora is at *Sik.* 277-8. The syntax is unclear as the text is very broken; but the instruction βάδιζ’ εἰς ἐξέτα[σιν] seems to be resumed in the next line by πρῶγμ’ ἐξέταζε.<sup>242</sup>

In many cases these nouns seem to have acquired specific, concrete senses, often in some area of technical vocabulary. From medical vocabulary we have ἔκστασις ‘mental disturbance’ (*Asp.* 422, contrasting with a non-technical use in *Asp.* 308). The word ἐπίθεσις is used in a technical, military sense at *Asp.* 103 to mean ‘onslaught’. Predictably, a set of fragments from Athenaeus give us some technical terms from cookery: ἐπίχουσις ‘cup, jug’ at fr.395.1;<sup>243</sup> ὀνθύλευσις (fr.351.7) is glossed by LSJ as ‘the use of forced meat’, but since this is difficult to reconcile with the plural, one assumes the concrete sense ‘forced meats, pieces of stuffing’;<sup>244</sup> and ὑπόστασις ‘jelly’ at fr.351. It is instructive that all of these nouns have ceased to be ‘verbal abstracts’ in any usual sense of the term. The

<sup>240</sup> Cf. Freundlich (1987) 43-102 on ‘Wiederaufnahme’.

<sup>241</sup> <ὄν> was restored by Sudhaus; since the metre demands an extra syllable in this position, the restoration is more or less certain.

<sup>242</sup> Maquieira Rodriguez (1987) argues unpersuasively that ἐξετασμός should be restored instead.

<sup>243</sup> For this sense see also Phylarchus fr.44J, and in Roman comedy Plaut. *Rud.* 1319.

<sup>244</sup> For the verb, see Alexis fr.275.2 with Arnott (1996b) 768.

sense of ἐπιτίμησις used by Menander does not occur again until App. *BC.* 4.117; Photius' implied censure of Menander's usage confirms that this is a Koiné word. Finally, terms from legal terminology are ἐπίδειξις 'proof' (only otherwise attested at *P.Taur.I* 1.7.7), κάκωσις, and παράστασις. This last is a difficult case, as it is used both as legal terminology and as slang. It is unknown outside Menander in the sense 'propensity, bent', but the verb is used in this sense later by Philodemus. On the other hand, the legal term does not function as a verbal abstract.

Menander's use of these nouns points in several different directions. Their use in anaphora of verbal predicates seems to suggest that they are still loosely associated with verbal paradigms; the new coinage σύμπεισις also points in this direction. On the other hand, this is the *only* new coinage in Menander, and other derivatives have been lexicalised, suggesting that their semantic association with their derivational base has been weakened. Lexicalisation and high frequency point to a historical period of productivity that is declining or which has finished.<sup>245</sup> There are no new nouns in -σις in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods;<sup>246</sup> the Roman period sees a rise in nouns in -νσις, but these may well reflect a spirit of learned revival (or a second stage of productivity on different lines). Since the type was ultimately rebuilt in -σία or -σή in Modern Greek, it is suggestive that Menander's -σις nouns seem to represent a period posterior to the suffix's hey-day.

### 2.1.2.3 -μα<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Bauer (2003) on English nouns in *-ment*.

<sup>246</sup> Palmer (1945) 102.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Chantraine (1933) 174-190; Mayser (1937) 54-61.

The neuter *n*-stems were inherited in Greek from the proto-language and form verbal abstracts. From an early stage the suffix –μα is attested in an enlarged form –σμα, thus in Ionic πρήγμα for Attic πῶγμα, and Hom. πείσμα < \**b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-smē*.<sup>248</sup>

The nouns with this suffix occurring in Menander have been discussed by Rosenstrauch.<sup>249</sup> Here they are presented in two lists as a reverse index, the first dealing with forms in –Cμα, the second in –Vμα. It is hoped by this means that the shape of the individual nouns can be made more apparent.

πῶγμα	‘business, matter’	fr.110.2...SAEPISSIME
σύνταγμα	‘corps’	fr.637
φρύαγμα	‘snorting; insolence’	fr.296.13
δείγμα	‘sign’	<i>Georg.</i> fr.3.4
παράδειγμα	‘example’	<i>Dysk.</i> 484, 863, fr.631.1
αἷμα	‘blood’	<i>Sam.</i> 407
ἄγαλμα	‘statue’	<i>Dysk.</i> 677
τέλμα	‘pond, marsh’	<i>Ep.</i> 1072
ποίκιλμα	‘decoration’	<i>Pk.</i> 773 (]μα) <sup>250</sup>
γράμμα	‘letter’	<i>Ep.</i> 390; <i>Mis.</i> 417, 425; <i>Sik.</i> 136; <i>Asp.</i> 479; fr.287.2
βλέμμα	‘look, appearance’ <sup>251</sup>	<i>DE.</i> 105, <i>Dysk.</i> 258
θρέμμα	‘beast’	fr.868 <sup>252</sup> ; <i>Col.</i> fr.6
ὄμμα	‘eye’	<i>Theoph.</i> 16, <i>Asp.</i> 452
περίκομμα	‘trimmings’	<i>Sam.</i> 293

<sup>248</sup> Chantraine (1933) 175. For the phonology of the change \**-gsm-* > *-k<sup>h</sup>m-* and more examples see Sihler (1995) 219.

<sup>249</sup> Rosenstrauch (1964) 60-1.

<sup>250</sup> Barigazzi suggests a restoration [γνωρίσμα]τα.

<sup>251</sup> LSJ’s ‘glance’ does not seem appropriate for many attestations.

<sup>252</sup> Also restored by Sandbach at *Cith.* 41, where the traces are very uncertain. θρέμματα is at least no worse than other suggestions made for this difficult place.

Word-Formation

ἐπικάλυμμα	‘cover’	fr.92
γλύμμα	‘carving’	<i>Ep.</i> 388
σκῶμμα	‘jest, gibe’	fr.608.2
κάθαρμα	‘outcast’	<i>Sam.</i> 481
δέρμα	‘skin’	fr.388.2
πλάσμα	‘figure’	fr.110.2; <sup>253</sup> fr.663.2
ἄρπασμα	‘booty, prey’	<i>Ep.</i> 1082
παραπέτασμα	‘screen’	<i>Dysk.</i> 923, 930, fr.299.9 <sup>254</sup>
φάσμα	‘ghost’	<i>Ph.</i> 9 (rest. Kock); play title
προσπταΐσμα	‘misfortune’	fr.285 (gloss.)
πόλισμα	‘city’	<i>Sam.</i> 325 (cit.)
γνώρισμα	‘token’	<i>Pk.</i> 816; <i>Ep.</i> 331, 303, 341; <i>Pk.</i> 742 <sup>255</sup> , 774 <sup>256</sup> ; <i>Sik.</i> 142, 248.
ρύτισμα	‘patch, darn’	fr.569
κούφισμα	‘relief’	fr.663.2
ἥδυσμα	‘relish’	fr.104 (gloss, cf. Eupolis fr.152)
ἄκουσμα	‘thing heard’	<i>Mis.</i> 568; <i>Cith.</i> fr.5; fr.825.1

Beside them are the following forms in –Vμα:

θέαμα	‘sight’	<i>Sam.</i> 533
νᾶμα	‘stream’	<i>Dysk.</i> 947
νόσᾶμα	‘illness’	<i>Asp.</i> 464 (‘Doric’ for νόσημα)
ἀσέβημα	‘impiety’	<i>Sam.</i> 493 <sup>257</sup>
τράγημα	‘sweet’	NAPL. fr.194; fr.409.13, GPI. fr.603

<sup>253</sup> Previous editors and Katsouris (2004) accept the conjecture of Meineke of πέμματα here. I follow K.-A. in preferring the reading of the MSS.

<sup>254</sup> Also in fr.936.2, now given by *PCG* as Alexis fr.341.

<sup>255</sup> Restored by van Leeuwen, and accepted by Arnott (1996a).

<sup>256</sup> Restored by Barigazzi; other editors (including Sandbach) restore ποίκιλ]μα.

<sup>257</sup> Incorrectly given as *Sam.* 322 by Katsouris (2004).

Word-Formation

πατάγημα	‘screamer’	fr.563
ἄλγημα	‘suffering’	fr.848.2
ὑπόθημα	‘deposit, mortgaged property’	<i>Ep.</i> 505
ποίημα	‘poem’	fr.415
ἀδίκημα	‘injustice, crime’	<i>Pk.</i> 503; <i>Dysk.</i> 303; <i>DE.</i> 101; fr.688.1; fr.766.4
οἴκημα	‘residence’	<i>Sam.</i> 234
μέλημα	‘object of care’	<i>Pk.</i> 404
φίλημα	‘kiss’	<i>Dysk.</i> 939 (rest.)
ἔγκλημα	‘accusation’	<i>Pk.</i> 503; <i>Ep.</i> 1111
θύλημα	‘sacrificial cake’ <sup>258</sup>	<i>Dysk.</i> 440
ἐνθύμημα	‘invention’	<i>Ep.</i> 512
μνήμα	‘monument’	fr.835.4
ῥήμα	‘word’	<i>Asp.</i> 190; fr.193.3; <i>Mis.</i> 966; fr.330; fr.693.2
κτῆμα	‘possession’	SAEPE
ἄρρώστημα	‘illness’	<i>Ph.</i> 45; <i>Asp.</i> 337
σχῆμα	‘shape’	<i>Asp.</i> 345; <i>Ep.</i> 792; <i>Sik.</i> fr.2.2
ἄτύχημα	‘misfortune’	<i>Cith.</i> 47; <i>Mis.</i> 793; <i>Ep.</i> 914; <i>Sam.</i> 218; <i>Ep.</i> 921; <i>Sam.</i> 351; fr.197.2; fr.688.1
δυστύχημα	‘misfortune’	fr.709.1
εὐτύχημα	‘good luck’	<i>Ep.</i> 1130; <i>Sam.</i> 618; fr.187.3
ὄνομα	‘name’	<i>Asp.</i> 57, 146, <i>Ep.</i> 589; <i>Mis.</i> 441, 702, 54; fr.269; <i>Leuc.</i> fr.9; fr.681.3
στόμα	‘mouth’	<i>Dysk.</i> 395; <i>Sam.</i> 679; fr.25.1
θαῦμα	‘wonder’	<i>Ph.</i> 101 (θαυ[ ])
ὑπέκκαυμα	‘incentive, provocation’	fr.178
τραῦμα	‘wound’	<i>Asp.</i> 61; fr.662 (but very dubious status as

<sup>258</sup> For the meaning, see Sch. Ar. *Pax* 1040.

Word-Formation

		a fragment)
ἔνδυμα	‘garment’	<i>Pk.</i> 519 <sup>259</sup>
ἐπιτήδευμα	‘business’	<i>Cith.</i> fr.4.1
μνημόνευμα	‘means of remembering, token’	<i>Pk.</i> 796
πνεῦμα	‘breath’	<i>Dysk.</i> 97; fr.372.3; fr.25.5
ῥεῦμα	‘ebb and flow’	<i>Georg.</i> fr.2.5
τόρευμα	‘relief work’	fr.26.2, 3
ἐμπύρευμα	‘embers’	fr.907 <sup>260</sup>
θύμα	‘sacrificial victim’	<i>Sam.</i> 674
μήνυμα	‘information’	<i>Ep.</i> 423
δῶμα	‘house’	<i>Asp.</i> 413 (cit.)
ζῶμα	‘woman’s girdle’	fr.327.2
σύμπτωμα	‘happening’	fr.853.3; fr.875
ἐκτύπωμα	‘figure in relief’	fr.26.4
βρῶμα	‘food’	fr.351.11
στρῶμα	‘bed’	<i>Dysk.</i> 405; fr.78 (Jacobi, not in K.-A.); <sup>261</sup>
ἀργύρωμα	‘silver-plate’	<i>Asp.</i> 151, fr.78; fr.366.1; fr.838.7
χρῶμα	‘colour’	<i>Sik.</i> 284; <i>Ep.</i> 887
σῶμα	‘body’	fr.68.2

Katsouris (2004) also lists *παιπάλημα* for *Sik.* 76. This is a suggestion by Sandbach in the apparatus; but the textual basis for it is very slender, given that the only clear letters on the papyrus are *αλη* (I read neither the *θ* nor the *μ*

<sup>259</sup> Lamagna (1994) 252 (on his 269) traces the spread of this word through Attic into the Koiné, attributing its origin to Ionic.

<sup>260</sup> The word is used in a collection of maxims found on papyrus without authorial ascription. For the arguments in favour of Menander see the *editio princeps P.Oxy.* 57. 3005(1974) 22.

<sup>261</sup> Fr.26.2 wrongly Katsouris (2004)

suggested in the OCT), and the passage is so damaged that there is as good as no dramatic context at all.<sup>262</sup> It should be removed from the index.

There has been an increase in material since the 77 items known to Rosenstrauch. The tables give a clear insight into the development of nouns in –μα; particular phonological configurations of the suffix are more successful than others. Nouns in –ημα or –ωμα are much the most frequent types overall; the two commonest nouns also end in this sequence (κτῆμα and σῶμα) and indeed seem to replace nouns in less productive categories; thus Menander has ἄλγημα beside ἀλγεινός and ἀλγέω, but not (*s*-stem) ἄλγος. Nouns synchronically ending in –ημα or –ωμα are in origin derived from denominal verbs in –έω, –άω and –όω respectively, and a great many of the nouns in Menander are still of this type; on the other hand, –ημα at least has begun to take on independent life, cf. τράγημα ‘sweet’, ultimately related to the aorist ἔτραγον (but not to \*τραγέω or the like).

One trend does not appear to have begun: nouns in –εμα and –ομα, the development of which is associated with the Koiné, are not attested in Menander.<sup>263</sup> One noun that might be expected to show this shape is ὑπόθημα ‘deposit’;<sup>264</sup> the spelling ὑπόθεμα is much the more frequent, possibly under the influence of the Ø-grade expected in ὑπόθεσις (glossed as ὑποθήκη in fr.428). The situation in Callimachus offers a striking comparandum: besides eleven formations in –ημα there is a single example of –εμα in ἄνθεμα (*Ep.* 5. 2). It is however entirely unclear whether this should be seen as incipient influence of the

<sup>262</sup> Blanchard (2009) 6, following a suggestion by Austin in the apparatus of Kassel (1965) 7, prints ἀλλ’ ἠθ[ε]λον.

<sup>263</sup> For this development cf. Buck/Petersen (1948) 222.

<sup>264</sup> Elsewhere, the word is only attested in two documents: one from the fourth century from Colophon first published in *AJPh* 56/4 (1935) II C40 and E/F87, cf. comment on p. 376; the other a second-century inscription from Samos, *SIG* 976.13 (II B.C.).

Koiné or as metrical distortion (especially in view of the irregular apocope of the preposition).<sup>265</sup>

Similarly the word ἄρπασμα retains its Attic form with sigma, rather than the later form ἄρπαγμα; this latter can be viewed either as having been assimilated to the (late developments in the) verbal paradigm (e.g. as seen in pf. pass. ἤρπαγμα Paus. 3.18.7, strong aor. pass. ἤρπάγην Lyc. 505, fut. pass. ἄρπαγήσομαι *IEp. Thess.* 4:17) or to the verbal noun ἄρπαγή (attested throughout archaic and classical Greek from Solon onwards).<sup>266</sup>

As far as the use of these nouns goes, they seem sometimes to reflect self-consciously high registers: thus at *Dysk.* 947 the *kennigr* νᾶμα Νυμφῶν is used for water (next to εὔιον γέροντα πόλιον 946 for ‘wine’);<sup>267</sup> *Sam.* 325 is even a direct quotation from tragedy ὃ πόλισμα Κεκροπίας χθονός (from the *Oedipus* of Euripides, according to the marginal note in the papyrus).

Menander attests the use of these abstract nouns as appellatives.<sup>268</sup> In some cases, this is because the noun itself has gained a concrete sense. This is the case, for example, at *Sam.* 481 ὃ τι βοῶ κάθαρμα σύ; ‘[You’re asking me] what I’m shouting about, you horror?’, or as Arnott has it ‘filthy rat’.<sup>269</sup> The noun is

<sup>265</sup> Schmitt (1970) 101f. lists the remaining forms.

<sup>266</sup> The form ἄρπαγμα is attested in the Septuagint, NT, and Plutarch, as opposed to ἄρπασμα, which occurs apart from in Menander in the orators and Plato.

<sup>267</sup> ‘Menander can be said to be indulging himself and his audience in a piece of traditional comic *panache*’ comments Handley (1965) 300; he adduces ‘the elevated style of Ar. *Eccl.* 14’ where wine is Βάκχιον νᾶμα ‘Bacchic stream’. For the vocalism and etymology of νᾶμα cf. Fraenkel (1912) 11, Frisk *s.v.*, Björck (1950) 148-9; but a reconstruction \*ναφεμα is problematic, insofar as there is little early evidence for a suffix \*-ema in Greek. Could \*-e- be the thematic vowel, similar to the argument of Schindler (1976)?

<sup>268</sup> For this see Long (1968) 114-25, Ar. *Av.* 429-30 with Dunbar (1995) 298-9, Willi (2003) 138. The scholiast paraphrases each noun; strikingly παιπάλημα receives both an ‘ordinary language’ gloss (πολλὰς ἐκτοπὰς καὶ διόδους ἔχων) and a paraphrase by another abstract noun (ἤγουν ἀτεχνῶς λεπτολογία; the gloss seems to presuppose a text that omitted λῆμα, presumably by haplology). If this gloss was comprehensible, it seems that this style of labeling persons was common in later periods also.

<sup>269</sup> Arnott (2000) 120.

similarly used by Aristophanes (*Pl.* 454) and Demosthenes (καθάρματα 21. 185, 198).<sup>270</sup> Another example of a noun which has taken on a specific concrete sense is θρέμμα at fr.868, which had come to signify ‘beast’. Somewhat different are cases in which people are characterised with a word which is still a verbal abstract, for example fr.563: οἷον πατάγημ’ ἤκεις; Rosenstrauch in his discussion renders the noun as ‘krzykacz’, ‘screamer’, as opposed to the more usual ‘hałas’, ‘noise, commotion’.<sup>271</sup> A further example is perhaps *Mis.* 568 ἀγαθὸν ἄκουσμ’ ἤκεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Arnott translates ‘Your coming to us is good news’<sup>272</sup> taking the abstract noun in apposition to the sentence ἤκεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς; but an interpretation as an appellative (‘Goodnews! You’re here!’) may also be possible. One cannot argue against this that such appellatives are always pejorative:<sup>273</sup> examples such as *Ar. Nub.* 260, 447, *Av.* 430 prove that they can also be used as compliments. Given that in comedy this usage is associated with intellectual speech or lyric, and that it is otherwise common in tragedy,<sup>274</sup> it would seem to be characteristic of a high register once again.<sup>275</sup>

### 2.1.3 *Nomina agentis* (and conjoiners)

Various Greek suffixes form agent nouns; that said, there is no suffix in Greek which exclusively forms agent nouns. The data presented here reflect this multifunctionality of the suffixes; thus this section includes all nouns of those stem classes of which some members can be described as agent nouns. It goes without saying that some of these types are more productive than others: thus the

<sup>270</sup> Further examples in Headlam/Knox (1922) 191.

<sup>271</sup> Rosenstrauch (1964) 61.

<sup>272</sup> Arnott (1996a) 298.

<sup>273</sup> See Long (1968) 115 on Sophocles.

<sup>274</sup> Barrett (2007).

<sup>275</sup> Willi (2003) 138 argues that Homeric examples, e.g. *Il.* 3. 50-1, show that using nouns in -μα as appellatives ‘probably belonged to vernacular speech’. I find it unlikely that this manner of talking belonged to ‘vernacular speech’ if the word ‘vernacular’ refers to a low status variety.

nouns in –της are ‘prototypical’ agent nouns; the animate *n*-stems, by contrast, are categorised as ‘agent nouns’ on the basis of some archaic examples such as ἡγέμων ‘leader’.

### 2.1.3.1 –ων and other *n*-stems

Animate *n*-stem nouns commonly end in –ην or –ων; Menander also attests some rather more unusual formations. The accent and ablaut of the Greek *n*-stems is spectacularly confusing: both full and lengthened grades of the suffix are attested, and the nouns can be barytone or oxytone (some are even attested with both accentuations in different sources). This is not the place to attempt a solution to these problems.<sup>276</sup> The nouns in this category contain, besides agent nouns, names of places (particularly with the composite suffix –έων) and instrument nouns. Some forms are apparently deadjectival, while forms in –μων are common adjectives (though they are not productive in this period).<sup>277</sup> The data is set out below as a reverse index, to group the nouns according to suffix vocalism:

μεγιστάν, –ᾶνος	‘leader’	fr.584 (gloss)
κανδύταν, –ανος	‘clothes dryer’	<i>Asp.</i> fr.4; <i>Sik.</i> 388
ποιμήν, ἔνος	‘shepherd’	<i>Ep.</i> 299; <i>Her.</i> 21, 73; fr.448;
Ἕλλην, ἦνος	‘Greek’	adj. <i>Pk.</i> 1008; noun <i>Pk.</i> 534; fr.641.1;
σπλήν, ἦνος	‘spleen’	<i>Sam.</i> 402
φρήν, φρενός	‘mind’	<i>Sik.</i> fr.5; <i>Asp.</i> 422; <i>Dysk.</i> 897; fr.604.1; <i>Per.</i> 15; <i>Asp.</i> 444
ἡλακατήν, ἦνες	‘kind of fish’	<i>Col.</i> 7.1

<sup>276</sup> Oettinger has addressed the Indo-European background of these problems in a series of articles: see Oettinger (1983), (2003), (2005), (2009).

<sup>277</sup> The *n*-stem comparatives are not listed here; see §3.4.6.2.

Word-Formation

ἀρραβών, ὦνος	‘pledge’	fr.459
τρίβων, ὠνος	‘worn cloak’	fr.114.1
βουβών, ὦνος	‘swelling’	<i>Georg.</i> 51
ἀγών, ὦνος	‘contest’	<i>Sam.</i> 95; fr.643; <i>Sik.</i> 18; <i>Sam.</i> 736; <i>Ep.</i> 325
τρύγων, ὄνος	‘turtle-dove’	fr.309
ὄσιπέδων, ὠνος	‘chained up for a long time’	fr.562
ἰστέων, ὦνος	‘weaving-shed’	<i>Sam.</i> 234
ἀλαζών, ὄνος	‘braggart’	<i>Pk.</i> 268, fr.608.3, <i>Georg.</i> 27; play-title
ὑπαλάζων, ὄνος	‘braggart’	<i>Asp.</i> 375
πόσθων, ὠνος	‘childish person’	fr.371
χθών, χθονός	‘earth’	<i>Sam.</i> 325
αἰών, ὦνος	‘age’	fr.420.4
πρίων, ὄνος	‘saw’	fr.478
εἰκών, ὄνος	‘image, likeness’	fr.420, fr.535
μυλών, ὦνος	‘mill’	<i>Her.</i> 3; <i>Pk.</i> 277; <i>Asp.</i> 245
ἀτεράμων, ὄνος	‘hard, tough’	fr.527 (gloss)
ἀπράγμων, ὄνος	‘easy-going’	<i>Per.</i> 13, fr.3.1
ἡγεμών, ὄνος	‘leader’	<i>Asp.</i> 75; <i>Col.</i> 90; <i>Pk.</i> 480; <i>Sik.</i> 9, 14; fr.191.4
κηδεμών, ὄνος	‘carer, nurse’	<i>Dysk.</i> 737; <i>Mis.</i> 27; <i>Georg.</i> 56; fr.828.2
στήμων, ὄνος	‘warp of a loom’	fr.664

εὐσχήμεων, ονος	‘shapely’	<i>Asp.</i> 5; fr.287. 3 <sup>278</sup>
δαίμων, ονος	‘god’	fr.500.1, 9; <i>Dysk.</i> 282; <i>Dysk.</i> 203 (Barrett); <i>Dysk.</i> 622; <i>Ep.</i> 1083; <i>Asp.</i> 399  <i>Asp.</i> 426 (cit.)
κακοδαίμων, ονος	‘wretch’	voc.: <i>Asp.</i> 410, 505 (κακοδ[ , rest. Austin); <i>Dysk.</i> 84; <i>Col.</i> 8 (ἰδαίμον, rest. Leo); <i>Mis.</i> 88, 713; <i>Pk.</i> 373; fr.434  nom./ acc.: <i>Georg.</i> fr.2.2; <i>Dysk.</i> 99, 214; <i>Ep.</i> 564; fr.97.1; <sup>279</sup> fr.844.4 (del. Kassel); <i>Pk.</i> 359.
τρισκακοδαίμων, ονος	‘triple wretch, scoundrel’	<i>Ep.</i> 145 (τρισκακοδ[ ]; <i>Car.</i> 10 (ἰων, rest. Handley); <i>Pk.</i> 978; <i>Dysk.</i> 523, 603 (τρισκακοδα[ ]; fr.298.1; 743.1; <i>Ep.</i> 913
χειμών, ὄνος	‘storm, winter’	<i>Sam.</i> 207; <i>Mis.</i> 13; fr.138.2
ἄγνώμων, ονος	‘senseless’	<i>Ep.</i> 918; fr.641.1; fr.804.12
εὐγνώμων, ονος	‘sensible’	fr.794.1
εὐφρων, ονος	‘cheerful’	<i>Sik.</i> 116
γείτων, ονος	‘neighbour’	NSg. <i>Dysk.</i> 663; <i>Col.</i> 122; ASg. <i>Asp.</i> 526; <i>Dysk.</i> 331; <i>Pk.</i> 369; <i>Sam.</i> 33; <i>Sam.</i> 62; GSg. <i>Cith.</i> 101;  API. <i>Mis.</i> 678; GPI. <i>Asp.</i> 122;

<sup>278</sup> Katsouris (2004) apparently takes the form εὐσχημον from this fragment (actually a conjecture for εὐσημον by Schweighaeuser) to be fem. sing. of thematic εὐσχημος; but why the form could not be nt. sing. of εὐσχήμων escapes me. For the recessive accentuation see Probert (2003) 61, and for the syntax fr.362.4 πειστικὸν λόγος. The thematic form is apparently attested exclusively at *EM.* 398.19. At Dionysius Halicarnassus *Comp.* 17 τῶν εὐσχήμων...ῥυθμῶν is a *v.l.* in the manuscripts FE; PMV, the manuscripts to which the most weight is usually given, read εὐσχημόνων. Roberts in his 1910 edition remarks on the ‘excessive attention’ (57) given to PMV, but advises caution in favouring FE too much (a tendency he ascribes to Usener). This may be a case in which PMV are to be preferred, and the most recent edition (Usher’s 1985 Loeb) does so. Still earlier we have *E. Hec.* 569, again a *v.l.*, but all recent editors read εὐσχημον. Finally, almost all compounds with a second element ὄσημος are attested very late, some only in the Byzantine period (Buck/Petersen (1948) 189); their intrusion into classical texts can thus be attributed to the natural tendency of copyists to exchange unfamiliar for familiar forms (this almost certainly lies at the root of the corruption of εὐγνώμων in the versions of fr.794 in the MSS of Stobaeus). Thus the evidence for the thematic form in the classical and Hellenistic period seems extremely weak; if it is not to be removed from the lexicon altogether, it should certainly not be over-hastily assumed for Menander.

<sup>279</sup> The line is unmetrical and thus corrupt, but whatever has happened, and despite the tendency for curse words to play a key rôle in ‘filling’ or improvising in the theatre (see Finglass (2006) for an application of this to textual criticism), it seems highly unlikely that κακοδαίμων has somehow been inserted as part of the mutilation of the line.

		<i>Georg.</i> 111; <i>Dysk.</i> 25, 32, 594; <i>Ep.</i> 875; <i>Mis.</i> 578; <i>Pk.</i> 147; <i>Ph.</i> 13; fr.657; <i>Sik.</i> 387; <i>DPl. Asp.</i> 466; <i>Dysk.</i> 491; <i>FabInc.</i> 8  Fem. ASg. <i>Pk.</i> 403
κοιτών, ὠνος	‘bed-chamber’	fr.614 (gloss)
κροτών <sup>280</sup> , ὠνος	‘tick’	fr.223 (prov.); <i>Con.</i> 6
κύων, κυνός	‘dog’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.3, 10, 11; <i>Col.</i> fr.7.2; fr.815.5; <i>Dysk.</i> 634; <i>Mis.</i> 15; fr.810; <i>Sam.</i> 14
ἄλεκτρυών, όνος	‘cock’	fr.132.1
κύφων <sup>281</sup> , κύφωνος	‘pillory’	<i>Dysk.</i> 102

The noun δελφίς, also an animate *n*-stem, is attested at fr.505.<sup>282</sup>

The most common single type are the adjectives in –μων, accounting for twelve of the 41 lexemes. Although historically they are animate counterparts to neuters in –μα, they remain *n*-stems proper, while nouns in –μα acquire their intrusive /t/.

The accentuation and ablaut of these nouns is an as yet unsolved problem. Two nouns provide a particularly interesting case study of the problems involved. The noun κυφών is accented thus on the papyrus of the *Dyskolos* (κυφῶν’); this was also printed by Lloyd-Jones in his edition. Handley, Sandbach, and Arnott on the other hand have corrected the accent and print κύφων’. Ancient grammarians do prescribe recessive accentuation for *n*-stem nouns (e.g. Choer. Th. 1. 273. 1-3). On the other hand μυλών, as a toponym in –λων, is oxytone ([Arcadius] 11. 25 Schmidt), but is accented recessively elsewhere. The reasons behind this early confusion deserve fuller investigation.

<sup>280</sup> There was debate in antiquity as to whether the word κροτών was really meant, or whether the proverb referred to the city Κρότων, see K.-A.’s apparatus.

<sup>281</sup> The accent of this word is discussed below.

<sup>282</sup> On the type and inflection of μεγιστάν cf. Björck (1950) 55.

The only new noun, ἰστέων, is a toponym; this kind of *n*-stem is highly productive in the Ptolemaic papyri as well.<sup>283</sup> Otherwise we can divide the formations into agent nouns proper, tools, characterising nouns (e.g. πόσθων), and a clutch of archaic root nouns.

### 2.1.3.2 -της, -τήρ, -'τωρ

The primary function for the suffix -τήρ / -'τωρ is the formation of agent nouns, for which it is by far the most productive suffix.<sup>284</sup> They are interesting both for their antiquity (I.E. \*-ter-/-tor- being one of the more securely reconstructable suffixes for the parent language) and the repeated remodellings they undergo within the history of Greek. The distinction in vocalism and accent goes back to the parent language, reflecting a semantic difference attested in Vedic and partially holding for Homeric Greek.<sup>285</sup>

The types in -τήρ / -'τωρ were continued in later periods by nouns in -της; this is shown by the fact that feminine formations in -τρια are paired in later periods to agent nouns in -της from which they could not have been derived. The nouns in -της were frequent in Greek since the Mycenaean period,<sup>286</sup> but the origin of the suffix is somewhat unclear: Chantaine follows Fraenkel's view that 'ils comportent l'élargissement en -ā-', in other words that they are ultimately derived from old *t*-stems.<sup>287</sup> This view was partially revised by Leukart on the basis of

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<sup>283</sup> Mayser (1937) 86-88

<sup>284</sup> Fraenkel (1910; 1912); Chantaine (1933) 219-220, 310-329; Redard (1949); Leukart (1994) 132-143; Schubert (2000).

<sup>285</sup> Benveniste (1948) 9-62, Tichy (1992), Di Gennaro (2009).

<sup>286</sup> Leukart (1994) 47-124, 202.

<sup>287</sup> Chantaine (1933) 310, cf. Fraenkel (1912) 153, Leukart (1994) 146. The key noun for this is δεσπότης < \*déms pótis, cf. Av. *dəṅg paiti-*, Lith. *viėš°pats*, and for the root Lat. *pot-is* etc.

Mycenaean evidence;<sup>288</sup> he was also able to show that the denominal type had had the  $-\tau\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$  suffix from the start.<sup>289</sup> Attic thus sees a generalisation of the denominal suffix to deverbal derivatives formerly in  $-\tau\eta\rho$  before expanding to include all subsequently derived *nomina agentis*, including those to secondary verbs.

In Homer there is a rough distribution of  $-\tau\eta\rho$  /  $-\tau\omega\rho$  used for simplex nouns and  $-\tau\eta\varsigma$  for compounds ( $\beta\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\rho/\beta\omicron\tau\eta\rho$  but  $\sigma\upsilon^{\circ}\beta\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ). However this state of affairs originated, it was presumably aided by isosyllabism in the paradigms, e.g. GSg.  $\beta\omicron\tau\eta\rho\varsigma$ , but  $\sigma\upsilon\beta\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ . This situation remains the same in most dialects.<sup>290</sup> In Attic-Ionic, by contrast, the situation has changed significantly. Fraenkel goes so far as to say that ‘im Gegensatz zu den Tragikern haben die übrigen attischen Schriftsteller so gut wie gar keine Nomina agentis auf  $-\tau\eta\rho$ ’;<sup>291</sup> unsurprisingly the vocabulary of the tragedians stands closer than the everyday language of Attica to archaic literary texts. By contrast, only a few exceptions to Fraenkel’s rule are found in prose, including certain technical terms of Athenian political life (in particular  $\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omega\rho$ ,  $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho$  etc.); some words borrowed from high registers or different dialects (e.g.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega\rho$  in religious terminology, similarly  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$ ); and a handful of neologisms (discussed further below). It has been claimed that writers as late as Xenophon still preserve the Indo-European semantics of the formations in  $*-t\acute{e}r-$ ;<sup>292</sup> this is difficult to prove as long as no example is adduced of a distinction between a pair of formations in  $-\tau\eta\rho$  and –

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<sup>288</sup> Leukart (1994) 157 gets the suffix out of Ὀρέστης, deriving the name from  $*ores^{\circ}st\acute{a}-$  ‘he who stands on the mountain’, with simplification of  $*ss$  and reanalysis as Ὀρέσ-της (next to the *s*-stem paradigm of ὄρος, ὄρέσ-τερος, etc.). It is unclear that a personal name could really been the starting-point of so successful a suffix, however.

<sup>289</sup> Leukart (1994) 203.

<sup>290</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 82.

<sup>291</sup> Fraenkel (1912) 51.

<sup>292</sup> Schubert (2000) 29-31.

τωρ in Xenophon,<sup>293</sup> especially since even in Homer the –τήρ suffix had begun to encroach on the original territory of the ᾽τωρ formations.<sup>294</sup>

The accentual paradigm of the nouns in –τήρ / ᾽τωρ was inherited from the parent language; the nouns in –της are generally oxytone. Of the exceptions, some are analogical (e.g. ἐργάτης, ἐλάτης vs. ἐργατήρ, ἐλατήρ, the accent most likely retracted on the analogy of compounds in ὀβάτης, ὀφάτης, ὀστάτης etc.). The others are those nouns in –της which are not strictly *nomina agentis*, i.e. the denominal type. These develop from an early period, with the domain of agenthood derived from the nominal stem and a paroxytone accent.

Because of the importance attributed in the literature to the stem complexes involving this suffix, the forms attested in Menander are arranged below in a reverse index:

ἐργατής	‘workman’	<i>Dysk.</i> 527, fr.14.1, <i>Dysk.</i> 608, <i>Ep.</i> 321
θεατής	‘onlooker’	<i>Sam.</i> 43, <i>Pk.</i> 171
ὄνηλάτης	‘donkey-driver’	<i>Sik.</i> 394 (restored by Gallavotti and Kassel from ο[ ])
ἄκροατής	‘listener’	<i>Cith.</i> fr.6
προστάτης	‘champion’	<i>Pk.</i> 279; <sup>295</sup> fr.363.2
κυνηγέτης	‘hunter’	<i>Dysk.</i> 523, 42; <i>Her.</i> fr.1.2
συγκυνηγέτης	‘fellow-hunter’	<i>Dysk.</i> 48 (συγκ[.....]γ rest. Handley) <sup>296</sup>
εὐεργέτης	‘benefactor’	<i>Sik.</i> 79
ἐπαινέτης	‘commender’	<i>Dysk.</i> 425
δραπέτης	‘runaway (slave)’	<i>Asp.</i> 389, <i>Car.</i> 35

<sup>293</sup> Alexis fr.242.9, in which sleep is said to be the παυστήρ πόνων, seems to argue against Schubert given Homeric ὕπνος πανδαμάτωρ.

<sup>294</sup> Tichy (1992) 417, 420 n.21.

<sup>295</sup> Cf. fr.769 for the related verb προστατεῖν in a related sense.

<sup>296</sup> The restoration of this word is controversial; but no other suggestion has been generally accepted.

Word-Formation

ὕπηρετος	‘helper’	<i>Asp.</i> 231, fr.838.9
διοικήτης	‘administrator’	<i>Pk.</i> 280, <i>Col.</i> 7
γεννητής	‘parent’	<i>Col.</i> fr.5. 1
δαιτητής	‘arbitrator’	fr.277
προφήτης	‘harbringer’ <sup>297</sup>	<i>Sam.</i> 735
κριτής	‘judge’	<i>Asp.</i> 327, fr.789.2, <i>Ep.</i> 223, 226; <i>Pap. Berol.</i> 21445. 8 (?)
ληστοσαλπικτής	‘robber-trumpeter’	fr.620
ψάλτης	‘harpist (m.)’	fr.367
συκοφάντης	‘swindler’	<i>Georg.</i> fr.1.4; <i>Theoph.</i> 1. 17; <i>Pk.</i> 378; fr.768. 2
ἑθελοντής	‘volunteer’	<i>FI.</i> 47
ἐκδότης	‘contract farmer’	<i>Pk.</i> 282
ἀνδραποδοκλέπτης	‘slave-stealer’	fr.522
δικαστής	‘juror’	fr.277, fr.838
δοκιμαστής	‘money-changer’	fr.804.8
ἔραστής	‘lover’	<i>Pk.</i> 128, 343
ἀντεραστής	‘rival in love’	<i>Sam.</i> 26
ἀγοραστής	‘buyer’	fr.390
κολλυβιστής	‘money changer’	fr.590 (gloss)
ἀνδραποδιστής	‘slave-dealer’	<i>Sik.</i> 272
οἰκιστής	‘founder’	<i>Col.</i> 91
ὑπασπιστής	‘shield-bearer’	<i>Asp.</i> 61
ῥαχιστής	‘boaster’	<i>Col.</i> 120 ( ἰαχιστησ rest. Turner)
πρεσβύτες	‘old man’	<i>Ep.</i> 327
κυβευτής	‘gamer’	fr.480
ἀκουστής	‘listener’	fr.616

The following (likewise in reverse index) exemplify the denominal type:

<sup>297</sup> For the sense cf. *LSJ sub voc.* I. 5. b.

οικέτης	‘household slave; inhabitant’	<i>Her.</i> 22, <i>Ep.</i> 408, <i>Car.</i> 10, fr.783.2, fr.785, fr.786.1, <i>Dysk.</i> 75, <i>Asp.</i> 192, <i>Dysk.</i> 26, <i>Dysk.</i> 330, <i>Ep.</i> 135, <i>Sik.</i> 5, <i>Sik.</i> 356, fr.5, <i>Asp.</i> 155, <i>Georg.</i> 56, fr.665.3, <i>Asp.</i> 140, fr.107.1 <sup>298</sup>
Ἀρεοπαγίτης	‘Areopagite’	<i>Fl.</i> 11
πολίτης	‘citizen’	fr.769.1
σινδονίτης	‘garment of linen’	<i>Sam.</i> 378
μακαρίτης	‘dead person’	fr.554 (gloss)
διμοιρίτης	‘one receiving double pay’	<i>Col.</i> 29 <sup>299</sup>
δημότης	‘commoner’	<i>Sik.</i> 184, <i>Car.</i> 34
δεσπότης	‘master’	fr.787.1, fr.788.1, 789.3
Πανιστής	‘worshipper of Pan’	<i>Dysk.</i> 230 <sup>300</sup>
ἀόρτης	‘knapsack’	<i>Sik.</i> 388
γαλεώτης	‘weasel’	fr.143 <sup>301</sup>
ἰδιώτης	‘private citizen’	<i>Sam.</i> 286
στρατιώτης	‘soldier’	<i>Col.</i> 250 Arnott (στρ[ ]); <i>Pk.</i> 146, 371, 1016; fr.777.1, fr.778.1  <i>Sik.</i> fr.2.2, <i>Asp.</i> 20, <i>Pk.</i> 186, <i>Asp.</i> 61

There is also an ethnicon: Βορυσθενίτης in fr.650.2.

It is immediately apparent that the formation is no longer restricted to compounds.

Three forms in glosses shed a particularly interesting light on this:

ἀνδραποδοκλέπτης is contrasted with ἀνδραποδοκλοπός (attested in Sophocles),

κολλυβιστής with ἀργυραμοιβός, and δοκιμαστής with ἀργυρογνώμων. Moeris

<sup>298</sup> Katsouris (2004) also includes fr.722.4, now fr.*adesp.* 1027.

<sup>299</sup> Restored in the *ed. pr.* and accepted by Sandbach and others. The word is supplied from a scholion in the margin of the papyrus: διμοιριτ(ης)· ο διπλουν λαμβανων των των στρατιωτ(ων) μισθον.

<sup>300</sup> This hapax is an emendation by van Groningen and Lloyd-Jones of the transmitted reading *παιανίστας* ‘paeon-singers’; the reading of the papyrus was defended by Handley. But even he concedes that ‘[o]n metrical and other grounds the text must be judged doubtful’ (1965) 173, see further p.148f.

<sup>301</sup> Translated by Terence, *Eun.* 688-9, as *veternosus senex, colore mustelino* ‘an old man with the colour of a weasel’; see Barsby (1999) 215 for discussion of the phrase and its relation to Menander. In earlier Greek (e.g. *Ar. Nub.* 173), by contrast, the word apparently means ‘gecko’.

says that ἀργυραμοιβός is characteristic of Koiné, but it is attested in Attic (Pl. *Prot.* 289e, Lysias fr.202 Carey on the authority of Pollux). The –της ending was more iconic for a *nomen agentis* than the compounds with the more archaic internally derived *o*-grade root.<sup>302</sup> As such, it is no surprise that κολλυβιστής, first in Lys. fr.202 (Carey), survives in the Koiné (cf. NT *Mt.* 21:12). In the case of ἀργυρογνώμων, this is magisterially rejected by the Antiatticist, while δοκιμαστής is said to be used by Ἕλληνας (as opposed to Ἀττικοί by Moeris). This confusion over Koiné and Attic terminology illustrates the difficulty of using Atticist testimony in the diachronic assessment of Greek.

Fr.616 states that Menander is said to have preferred ἀκουστής to ἀκροατής. It is unfortunate that the word does not occur in extant fragments, and one wonders how to interpret the occurrence of ἀκροατής in *Cith.* fr.6. One possibility is that the choice of this word characterised the speaker; and though it is suspicious that ἀκουστής would scan just as well in this fragment, this alone is probably no ground to correct the text.<sup>303</sup>

The table shows that the enlarged suffix –εύτης has not yet become productive, as there is only one example of the sequence, and that is deverbally κυβεύτης (« κυβεύω »).<sup>304</sup>

The type in –στης is by far the most common, with 10 examples (from 46 forms). These sigmatic forms (in Menander at least) are mainly deverbally; as such, one wonders if they contain the morpheme –στης, or whether they should be related to aorist rather than present stems; thus ἀκουστής may be related to aor. ἤκουσα

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<sup>302</sup> This is not restricted to Menander; see the examples in Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994) 55.

<sup>303</sup> See Sommerstein (2013) on *Sam.* 60 for a similar problem.

<sup>304</sup> At a later stage –εύτης competes with the agent nouns in –εύς; see Palmer (1945) 58-9.

rather than being a formation in –στης. The only non-deverbal form, κολλυβιστής (Lys. +), is much more interesting; in the absence of a \*κολλυβίζω, the suffix –ιστής must have attained productivity.

The form ἀγοραστής is of interest lexically as well: it is attested in Xenophon (*Mem.* 1.5.2) and Aristotle (*Oec.* 1352b6) and spreads to the Koiné (*P.Oxy.* 298.48, I A.D.). Chantraine comments that it replaced the ‘true’ Attic noun ὀψώνης;<sup>305</sup> this seems doubtful in the light of the latter’s rarity and the former’s comparatively early attestation. But the noun ὀψώνης had no future given the semantic development for words based on ὀψ– (see p.55); and the form was in any case undermarked – later a more obviously agentive noun ὀψωνήτης is made from denominal ὀψωνέω.

Among the denominal formations, the nouns in –ίτης (five of the 13 formations) play a special rôle, since this suffix becomes the main type of denominal agent noun.<sup>306</sup>

Menander attests the feminine version of this suffix in only one form:

πολιτίς	‘female citizen’	<i>Sik.</i> 197
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This may be contrasted with the great readiness of Callimachus to form nouns with this suffix. It may be suspected that the suffix was literary in nature, and that the Callimachean forms are learned rather than popular forms.<sup>307</sup>

The second type of agent noun is the more archaic type in –τήρ; the examples found in Menander are as follows:

<sup>305</sup> Chantraine (1933) 318.

<sup>306</sup> Palmer (1945) 111.

<sup>307</sup> Schmitt (1970) 48, 162; for the productive feminine agent nouns, see p.90 below.

ἀντλιαντλητήρ	‘bucket’	fr.229.4
ἀοτήρ	‘knapsack, strap’	fr.242.2
κλητήρ	‘witness of a legal summons’	<i>Dysk.</i> 472
κρατήρ	‘mixing bowl’	<i>Dysk.</i> 930, 928
σωτήρ	‘saviour’	<i>Mis.</i> 440
φράτηρ	‘clansman’	fr.8
χαρακτήρ	‘character’	fr.72
ψυκτήρ	‘wine-cooler’	fr.401.2

κλητήρ, φράτηρ and σωτήρ are specifically listed by Fraenkel as being quasi-technical terms that survived even in Attic.<sup>308</sup> One should note also that κλητήρ is used by Menander as part of a joke: Getas has not come to prosecute anyone, only to borrow a ‘wee cauldron’ (λεβήτιον); Knemon’s disproportionate response is being highlighted by the contrast between the slave’s humble errand and formal legal proceedings. The case of φράτηρ is interesting because the word has been won for Menander only via Terence and a reinterpretation of Donatus’ commentary on Ter. *Ad.* 350ff. The issue is whether Terence changed the relationship between Sostrata and Hegio from that of brother and sister to that of a more distant relationship. The basis for this is Donatus’ comment that in Menander’s play, Hegio was a *frater*, not a *cognatus*. The point of the comment may however be that Hegio in Menander’s play was a φράτηρ, of which *frater* is Donatus’ transliteration.<sup>309</sup> If this is correct, Menander attests a stage before φράτηρ was remade into φράτωρ in the later Hellenistic period.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>308</sup> Fraenkel (1913) 108. For a more nuanced view of the –τήρ formations in Attic see Tremblay (2003) 36-7.

<sup>309</sup> For this ‘second-hand testimony for the use of the word *phrater* in a late fourth-century comedy’, see Golden (1985), citing p. 13.

<sup>310</sup> Tremblay (2003) 32-4.

There are three terms for vessels, κρατήρ, ψυκτήρ and ἀντλιαντλητήρ; ‘Sachbezeichnungen’ (as opposed to agent nouns *stricto sensu*) are mentioned by Schwyzer as one of the classes of noun that preserve the –τήρ suffix.<sup>311</sup> The noun ἀντλιαντλητήρ seems to be part of a joke about learned or precise language. The second member of the compound, ἀντλητήρ is attested both as agent noun to ἀντλέω, ‘one who draws water’; and as a name of a vessel (κάδος ναυτικός, presumably a ‘bail’, Hesychius). The first element, ἀντλίον is a word for bucket attested in Aristophanes (fr.486). The fragment seems to poke fun at someone who claims that κάδος should not be used, rather one should say ἀντλιαντλητήρ – or as one might put it ‘anti-gravity water liftator’. The pomposity of the long compound and the archaic suffix corresponds to Fraenkel’s observation that such formations were a feature of the parody of high, solemn registers.<sup>312</sup>

Finally χαρακτήρ, rather like the *Sachbezeichnungen* of the previous paragraph, has retained the archaic suffix because it ceased to be an agent noun as such. Menander in fact gives us the first attestation of the word in the modern sense of ‘character’, ‘personality’ (later Phld. *Rh.* 1.6 S, Arr. *Epict.* 3.22.80, Plb. 18.34.7).

Nouns of this type form feminines of various shapes in the Greek dialects; in Attic, the feminines end in –τρια. The following nouns of this shape are attested in Menander:

λαϊκάστρια	‘fellatrix’	<i>Pk.</i> 485
ψάλτρια	‘harpist (f.)’	<i>Ep.</i> 589, 621, 145, 600, 987; <i>Ep.</i> fr.1.2; fr.224.4

<sup>311</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 530-1; for this usage in general see Fraenkel (1913).

<sup>312</sup> Fraenkel (1912) 51 with reference to Ar. fr.578, and cf. Phillipides fr.1 for ἀναμασχαλιστήρ, presumably a comic coinage; contrast Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 53 n.8 on the total lack of new formations in –τήρ/–τωρ in the New Testament (though of course there are inherited words, e.g. σωτήρ).

This is an example of the phenomenon mentioned above: the feminine has preserved a derivative of the old form in –τήρ, while the masculine suffix has been replaced by –της (cf. ψάλτης above).<sup>313</sup> There is no trace of the much more archaic feminine suffix in –τειρα, which may have been confined to religious registers at an early stage.<sup>314</sup>

Finally, we list the forms with the most moribund suffix, –τωρ. As expected, all these forms are old; it is doubtful that any Greek of Menander’s day would have coined new forms with this suffix in everyday speech.

ἄλάστωρ	‘demon’	<i>Pk.</i> 986; fr.269; fr.466
ἔστιάτωρ	‘one giving a feast’	<i>Col.</i> 12
ῥήτωρ	‘speaker’	<i>Sam.</i> 92, <i>Ep.</i> 236

In addition, the word νύκτωρ ‘by night’ has this shape, but is an adverb, attested at fr.660.2.

Two of these words, ἄλάστωρ and ἔστιάτωρ were treated by Fraenkel as Ionic words that entered Attic via religious language and spread thence into the Koiné. The other, ῥήτωρ is a word that was deeply embedded into Attic political life, and, though archaic, could therefore be retained.

### 2.1.3.3 –εὔς<sup>315</sup>

The origins of this suffix, Indo-European or otherwise, lie beyond the bounds of our investigation here.<sup>316</sup> By the alphabetic Greek period the suffix was already

<sup>313</sup> Chantraine (1933) 314.

<sup>314</sup> Chantraine (1933) 105.

<sup>315</sup> Chantraine (1933) 125-131; Schwyzer (1959) 476-8; Perpillou (1973).

<sup>316</sup> Chantraine (1933) 125 against an I.E. origin, a view accepted by e.g. Schmitt (1970) 56; for a summary of the views for and against, Schwyzer (1959) 477-8, Perpillou (1973) 15-77, §§3-62; since Perpillou, opinion has seemed to swing in favour of an I.E. origin, starting with Schindler (1976). The literature on this topic is enormous, and expanding, and cannot be reviewed here.

firmly productive. The suffix is used primarily in the formation of denominal agent nouns, thus e.g. ἵππεύς derived from (or formed from the same root as) ἵππος. A further semantic development is seen in nouns like σφαγεύς, at once ‘slayer’ and ‘sacrificial knife’ (both from σφαγή).

ἀγυιεύς	‘altar’	fr.481
ἄλιεύς	‘fisherman’	fr.468.2
ἀνθρακεύς	‘charcoal burner’	<i>Ep.</i> 257, 465
βασιλεύς	‘king’	βασιλεύς fr.772.1; βασιλέως <i>Col.</i> fr.2.4; βασιλεῖς <i>Ep.</i> 333; βασιλέων <i>Mis.</i> fr.5.2
γονεύς	‘parent’	γονεῖς fr.824; γονεῦσιν fr.823
ἐκτεύς	‘sextarius’	fr.93
ἵππεύς	‘horseman’	ἵππεῖς <i>Asp.</i> 61, fr.204

In addition the following ethnica with this suffix are attested:

Αἰξωνεύς	fr.200
Εὐωνυμεύς	<i>Cith.</i> 97 ( <i>bis</i> )
Μυλασεύς	fr.207

For Αἰξωνεύς see also §3.4.7.

There are also the following personal names:

Προμηθεύς	fr.508.2
Περσεύς	<i>Dysk.</i> 153

Menander does not make any unusual use of this suffix. One notes the presence of an instrument noun ἀγυιεύς ‘altar’, in a fragment cited by Harpocration and contrasted with Cratinus. Its earliest attestations are as an epithet of Apollo; there

is then a natural enough transfer of the term to the object representing the deity in worship.<sup>317</sup> Pherecrates fr.92 provides an interesting case which seems to manifest the transition between these two senses, as the altar itself seems to be being addressed. One recalls Schwyzer's characterisation of these nouns as 'Bezeichnungen von als persönlich wirksam gedachten Dingen'.<sup>318</sup>

The formation of ἄλιεύς has been explained in two ways. Some assume a 'Caland'-type first member ἄλι- (cf. ἄλι<sup>0</sup>μέδων Ar. *Th.* 323) to which the suffix was attached (see §2.1.8.2 on Arbenz' explanation of the Greek adjectives in -ιμός); otherwise it is also possible to assume two different enlargements (in -i- and -n-) of the root \*sal-, perhaps pointing to a heteroclitic paradigm.<sup>319</sup>

#### 2.1.4 *Nomina qualitatis*

Nouns expressing a certain quality were never a necessity in Greek. At all periods, adverbs and adjectives could be nominalised to express abstract notions. In Menander, for example, τὸ τάχως is used to mean 'speed' (*Mis.* 676). Nevertheless besides such constructions there were several productive suffixes used to form abstract nouns from adjectives, ranging from the highly productive -ια (which had various shapes and functions) to the less common -σύνη and -ότης.

##### 2.1.4.1 -ία<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>317</sup> Cf. Ar. *V.* 875 with MacDowell (1971) 247-8 for discussion of the precise nature of the religious object.

<sup>318</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 476.

<sup>319</sup> Benveniste (1935) 8; Perpillou (1973) 245-248; for further discussion of this supposed heteroclitic see §1.2.12 on ἄλας.

<sup>320</sup> Cf. Chantraine (1933) 78-91; Porzig (1942) 202-220; Scheller (1951) 33-93 gives a detailed categorisation of these nouns.

The history of nouns in  $-\alpha$  results in suffixes of disparate shape, which the table below lists together; the various configurations are  $-\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $-\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $-\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $-\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha$  and  $-\omicron\alpha$ . Some Greek nouns in  $-\acute{\iota}\alpha$  are derived from thematic adjectives in  $-\omicron\varsigma$ . Alternatively, the suffix  $-\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (ultimately from I.E.  $*-jeh_2$ ) was used to form feminine abstract nouns; derivations to non-thematic stems resulted in various new shapes for this suffix, particularly  $-\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha$  in derivations to  $s$ -stems ( $*-es-ja > *-ejja < -\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , e.g.  $*\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\delta-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma-\acute{\iota}\alpha > \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha$ ). A similar development took place in nouns with /w/, thus to  $*\nu\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma (> \nu\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma > \nu\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma)$  were formed compounds like  $*\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu-\acute{\iota}\alpha > \acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$ .

However, competing derivational bases resulted in metrically useful doublets.<sup>321</sup> By way of illustration: the suffix historically was used to build abstract nouns from adjectives; many of these forms are pseudo-compounds as a result, since the adjectival suffix was particularly used for compound adjectives,<sup>322</sup> e.g. Hom.  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\eta\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\eta$ , analysed  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\eta\mu\omicron\nu-\acute{\iota}\eta$ , not  $\acute{\alpha}^{\circ}\delta\alpha\eta\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\eta$ .<sup>323</sup> There also existed a deverbal formation in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha$  from denominative verbs in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ .<sup>324</sup> Synchronically they are indistinguishable from the  $s$ -stem derivatives in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (though some show accentual distinctions), and hence are listed here. Semantically, however, the nouns from  $s$ -stem adjectives are abstract nouns of quality, while the deverbal nouns are strictly speaking *nomina actionis*. Since abstract nouns could be formed either from nouns or from denominative verbs, the system could produce doublets of different shape, thus  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma \gg \acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega \gg \acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . As a result, the synchronic shape of a noun is not always good evidence for its derivational history, since suffix shapes could be generalised beyond their original distribution.

<sup>321</sup> Scheller (1951) 35, Porzig (1942) 216; see further p.101.

<sup>322</sup> Chantraine (1933) 37-38.

<sup>323</sup> Chantraine (1933) 78-79.

<sup>324</sup> Chantraine (1933) 88-90.

There seems to be no precise semantic difference, synchronically, between the oxytone type in *-ιά* and the barytone type in *-ία*. Some of the examples in Menander exhibit the general tendency for the oxytone nouns to refer to concrete objects and collectives (e.g. *σκιά*, *νεοττία*), but this is not universally true (cf. *λαλιά*).<sup>325</sup> Conversely, it is not always the case that barytone nouns have abstract semantics (e.g. *διβολία*, *τρικυμία*). Whether the two types have the same origin, or represent entirely different morphemes, is not clear; the answer to this may depend on the segmentation and derivational history of individual items.<sup>326</sup>

The following nouns are attested in Menander:

ἄβουλία	‘thoughtlessness’	fr.500.8
ἄγνοια	‘Ignorance’	<i>Pk.</i> 141 (divine name)
ἄγρυπνία	‘sleeplessness’	fr.129.1, <i>Sam.</i> 43
ἄγωνία	‘anguish’	<i>Asp.</i> 389, fr.844.12
ἄδικία	‘injustice’	<i>Dysk.</i> 298
ἄδοξία	‘ill-repute’	fr.907.9
ἄηδία	‘unpleasantness, disgust’	<i>Sam.</i> 99, 434; <i>Dysk.</i> 435
ἀθανασία	‘immortality’	fr.218.5
ἄθυμία	‘faintheartedness’	<i>Asp.</i> 331, <i>Sam.</i> 672
αἶμασιά	‘dry stone wall’	<i>Dysk.</i> 377
αἰτία	‘cause; responsibility’	fr.322.1, fr.376, fr.653, <i>Sam.</i> 616, <i>Mis.</i> 96, <i>Sam.</i> 51, <i>Sam.</i> 482, <i>Sam.</i> 526, <i>Sam.</i> 696, <i>Ph.</i> 35, P.Antin.55.84  <i>Asp.</i> 412 (cit.)
ἄκοσμία	‘moral failing’	<i>Pk.</i> 716 <sup>327</sup>

<sup>325</sup> For a detailed study of the accentuation of these derivatives, see Scheller (1951).

<sup>326</sup> For the first view see, e.g., Schwyzer (1959) 469; the second is endorsed by Chantraine (1933) 81. Scheller (1951) 11 n. 1 points out that the derivational assessment of a word like *σκιά* or *καλιά* is doubtful.

<sup>327</sup> Restored by Körte.

Word-Formation

ἄκρασία	‘incontinence’	fr.631.3
ἄλαζονεία	‘imposture’	fr.743
ἀλήθεια	‘truth’	fr.88, fr.655.2, fr.728.1, fr.801.1; <i>Sik.</i> 154, <i>Asp.</i> 327, <i>Ph.</i> 29, <i>Asp.</i> 372, <i>Theoph.</i> 25, <i>Ep.</i> 579 <sup>328</sup> , <i>Ep.</i> 813B <i>Sam.</i> 525
ἄμαθία	‘ignorance’	<i>Dysk.</i> 498
ἄμαρτία	‘fault, sin’	fr.321.4, fr.452.2, fr.762.2, <i>Sam.</i> 707
ἀναίδεια	‘shamelessness’	fr.751.3; fr.201.2 (goddess name)
ἀνδρεία	‘bravery’	fr.772.1
ἄνοια	‘ignorance’	fr.396.2, fr.709.1, fr.714.1; <i>Sam.</i> 708, <i>Car.</i> 8
ἄπιστία	‘untrustworthiness’	<i>Ep.</i> 129
ἀποδημία	‘being abroad’	<i>Asp.</i> 131
ἀπορία	‘being at a loss’	<i>Her.</i> 72; <i>Georg.</i> 71 (Arnott); <i>Asp.</i> 441; fr.759; <i>Asp.</i> 432 (cit.)
ἄπραξία	‘leisure’	fr.748.2
ἄστοργία	‘lovelessness’	fr.413
ἄσφάλεια	‘safety’	fr.68.3, fr.377.3
ἄτιμία	‘lack of honour’	<i>Pk.</i> 168
ἄτοπία	‘illogicality’	<i>Dysk.</i> 609
ἄτυφία	‘modesty’	fr.221 <sup>329</sup>
ἄτυχία	‘misfortune’	ASg. fr.861.1, fr.857.1, fr.888.1, <i>Sam.</i> 505, DPl. fr.860.1,
ἀυθαδία	‘stubbornness’	<i>Mis.</i> 688
ἄφθονία	‘abundance’	fr.846.3
βακτηρία	‘wand, stick’	<i>Ep.</i> 248, <i>Asp.</i> 378, <i>Sam.</i> 577, <sup>330</sup> fr.726.1
βοήθεια	‘help’	fr.9.3, <i>Pk.</i> 138

<sup>328</sup> The papyrus reads ἀλ[, the restoration is Jensen’s.

<sup>329</sup> The full text of the fragment is uncertain; but since ἀτυφία is the heading of the lemma under which it is quoted, it seems certain that this word really occurred in it.

<sup>330</sup> LSJ cite this passage under βακτήριον, i.e. the diminutive form. The papyrus reading is however βακτηρίαν, and the dictionary entry thus needs to be changed.

Word-Formation

γεωργία	‘farming’	fr.781
δειλία	‘cowardice’	<i>Dysk.</i> 123
δειπνοφορία	‘solemn feast’	<i>Cith.</i> 95
δεξιά	‘right hand’	<i>Dysk.</i> 909, <i>Con.</i> 11, fr.106.3 <sup>331</sup>
διάνοια	‘intention, purpose’	fr.700.2, <i>Sam.</i> 332
διβολία	‘double-pointed lance’	<i>Col.</i> 31
δυσγένεια	‘ignobility’	fr.375.2
δυσποτμία	‘ill-luck’	<i>Asp.</i> 220
ἐλευθερία	‘freedom’	<i>Ep.</i> 558, <i>Mis.</i> 38
ἐμβροντησία	‘lunacy’	<i>Sam.</i> 411
ἐμπειρία	‘experience, practice’	<i>Dysk.</i> 29, <i>Mis.</i> 749
ἐνδελέχεια	‘continuity’	fr.749.2
ἐξουσία	‘property’	fr.839.1
ἐπιδημία	‘stay, arrival’	fr.871.2, <i>Pk.</i> 360
ἐπιθυμία	‘desire’	fr.508.7, <i>Sam.</i> 21
ἐπιμέλεια	‘concern’	fr.283, <i>Georg.</i> 72, <i>Dysk.</i> 862, 228, 38.
ἐρημία	‘desert, loneliness’	<i>Georg.</i> 82, <i>Dysk.</i> 694, fr.356.2 ASg. fr.37, fr.299, fr.835.9, <i>Sam.</i> 94 GSg. <i>Dysk.</i> 169, 597 DSg. <i>Dysk.</i> 222
Ἑστία	‘Hestia’	<i>FabInc.</i> 64 (only divine name)
εὐβουλία	‘good counsel’	<i>Asp.</i> 411 (cit.)
εὐδαιμονία	‘happiness’	fr.58.1, fr.196.2
εὐδία	‘peace’	<i>Sam.</i> 208
εὐδοξία	‘good repute’	fr.907.8, 14
εὐηθία	‘naivete’	fr.712.1
εὐθυμία	‘cheerfulness’	fr.172

<sup>331</sup> Katsouris (2004) also lists *Dysk.* 5, but this must be the nt. pl. of the adjective δεξιός rather than the noun.

εὐκαιρία	‘good timing’	<i>Dysk.</i> 129
εὐνοία	‘goodwill’	ASg. <i>Sik.</i> 244; fr.95 GSg. fr.107.2, <i>Asp.</i> 12, <i>Sam.</i> 735, DSg. fr.830
εὐπορία	‘ease’	fr.155.3
εὐπραξία	‘success’	<i>Pk.</i> 1010 <sup>332</sup>
εὐφημία	‘auspicious silence’	fr.836.2
εὐωχία	‘feasting’	<i>Asp.</i> 525
ζημία	(1) ‘penalty’ (2) ‘price’	fr.126.1 fr.224.9
ἡγεμονία	‘leadership’	fr.374
ἡλικία	‘age’	<i>Dysk.</i> 28, <i>Mis.</i> 94, <i>Asp.</i> 267
θυσία	‘sacrifice’	<i>Dysk.</i> 558 ASg. <i>Theoph.</i> lyr. 9 <sup>333</sup> DSg. <i>Dysk.</i> 265
ἰκετηρία	‘supplication’	<i>Mis.</i> 532, 153 <sup>334</sup>
κακία	‘evil’	fr.500.5, fr.761.2
κακοπαθία	‘distress’	<i>Cith.</i> fr.1
καρδία	‘heart’	<i>Sam.</i> 534, <i>Cith.</i> 4
κληρονομία	‘inheritance’	<i>Per.</i> 18
λαλία	‘loquacity’	fr.65.3, <i>Sam.</i> 261 <sup>335</sup>
μαλακία	‘weakness’	fr.155.5

<sup>332</sup> The papyrus reads ευ[ (restoration in the ed. princ. of *P.Oxy.* 211); Arnott (1996a) 472 restored ὑπερευ[διαμόνων] instead.

<sup>333</sup> This is a restoration by Bartoletti (ed. princ.) from ]σιαν; the word has also been restored by Maas at *Dysk.* 422.

<sup>334</sup> This was restored from ] ηριῶν; but the possibility of this restoration has been called into question. *P.Oxy.* 64.4408 does not seem to have enough space, and the traces on *P.Oxy.* 33.2656 would also admit ε or θ. Gonis (1997) suggests θηρίων, but the text of *P.Oxy.* 4408 is too problematic and unclear to make this certain.

<sup>335</sup> The noun was also conjectured first by Nauck in the corrupt second line of fr.815; the MSS read διὰ τὴν αὐλὰν λιὰν which is hard to get meaning from and is dialectally dubious (αὐλὰν should not appear in Attic dialogue). Nauck’s solution was διὰ τὴν λαλιάν, which makes much better sense. Kaibel suggested τῆ νῦν λαλιᾶ, which means the same as Nauck’s suggestion. For more, and more suggestions, see K.-A. *ad loc.*

Word-Formation

μανία	‘madness’	<i>Mis.</i> 87
μικροψυχία	‘mean-spiritedness’	<i>Georg.</i> fr.3.4
μνεία	‘remembrance’	ASg. μνείαν <i>Dysk.</i> 67
νεοττία	‘nest’	<i>Pk.</i> 528
οἰκία	‘house’	ASg. <i>Asp.</i> 356, 365, 402; <i>DE.</i> 13; <i>Dysk.</i> 90, 132, 443, 446; <i>Ep.</i> 165; <i>Kol.</i> 5; <i>Mis.</i> 31, 421; <i>Pk.</i> 292; <i>Pk.</i> 122; <i>Pk.</i> 145; <i>Sam.</i> 649; <i>Ph.</i> 17; fr.315.3; fr.800.2; fr.817.2, fr.838.5, fr.846.1  GSg. <i>Dysk.</i> 74, 97, 312, 624; <i>Asp.</i> 501; <i>Georg.</i> 14; <i>Ep.</i> 629; <i>Mis.</i> 38; fr.297.2; fr.506; fr.815.3  with ἐκ: <i>Sam.</i> 133, 382, 443, 469, 352; <i>Sik.</i> 165; fr.296.3  DSg. fr.868; <i>Ph.</i> 10 <sup>336</sup> ;  NPl. fr.838.7  APl. fr.156.2, <i>Ep.</i> 822, fr.21.1 <sup>337</sup>
ὄμιλία	‘company’	<i>Sik.</i> 308 <sup>338</sup> ; fr.165
ὄμόνοια	‘agreement’	<i>Sik.</i> fr.6.2 (= K.-A. fr.697.2), <sup>339</sup> fr.803.3, fr.833
οὐσία	‘wealth, property’ <sup>340</sup>	fr.111.1, fr.176.6, fr.601, SAEPE
παιδιά	‘play’	<i>Sam.</i> 41
παιδοτροφία	‘bringing up of children’	<i>Ep.</i> 254
πανουργία	‘wickedness’	<i>Per.</i> 11
παροιμία	‘proverb’	<i>DE.</i> 28 ( ]ροιμίας)
παρουσία	‘presence’	fr.361
παρρησία	‘free speech’	<i>Ep.</i> 1101; <i>Georg.</i> 119; fr.273.2 <sup>341</sup>

<sup>336</sup> Restored here by Turner.

<sup>337</sup> The NSg. οἰκία is written by K.-A. in fr.374.3; but the line has suffered some kind of corruption and a metrically satisfactory solution has apparently yet to be suggested.

<sup>338</sup> Schroeder’s restoration; the papyrus has ομ[.

<sup>339</sup> See n.229.

<sup>340</sup> Fr.112 is a gloss recording the use of the word βίος in the same sense in the same play, cf. also fr.284.

<sup>341</sup> Katsouris (2004) also cites fr.717.2 K.-T.; this is however a reconstruction by Meineke of a prologue paraphrased by Lucian. Since the actual wording is thus not directly Menander’s, it will not be counted here.

Word-Formation

πενία	‘poverty’	<i>Cith.</i> fr.2.2; <i>Georg.</i> 77; fr.2.2; fr.842, fr.843.3  <i>Dysk.</i> 209 (divine name)
περιουσία	‘abundance’	fr.288.1
πλεονεξία	‘advantage’	<i>Mis.</i> 801; fr.722.1
πολιορκία	‘siege’ <sup>342</sup>	<i>Pk.</i> 483
πολυπλήθεια	‘great number’	<i>Dysk.</i> 166
πολυτέλεια	‘extravagance’	<i>Ep.</i> 749
πονηρία	‘wickedness’	<i>Asp.</i> 116, 309; fr.107.2, fr.221, <sup>343</sup> fr.282, fr.375.2, fr.513.2, fr.705, fr.771.2
πομπεία	‘abuse’	<i>Pn.</i> fr.4
πορεία	‘journey’	<i>Sik.</i> 412
πρόνοια	‘foresight’	fr.372.5, fr.376.1, fr.681.2
σκευασία	‘dressing’	<i>Ph.</i> 74
σκιά	‘shadow’	fr.435.1, fr.605.4, fr.265.4; <i>Ench.</i> fr.6
στράτεια	‘army’	<i>Asp.</i> 5, fr.288.1
συγγένεια	‘kinship’	fr.186.1
συνήθεια	‘habit, custom’	fr.767.2, <i>Sam.</i> 625
συνοικία	‘settlement’	fr.374.3 <sup>344</sup>
συνουσία	‘conversation’	fr.791.5
σωτηρία	‘salvation’	<i>Dysk.</i> 840, <i>Pk.</i> 513, <i>Asp.</i> 20, 447; <i>Ep.</i> 339; <i>Col.</i> fr.1.5
ταινία	‘band, fillet’	<i>Ph.</i> 23
τηθία	‘old woman’	<i>Mis.</i> 612
τιμωρία	‘retribution’	fr.766.7, fr.771.3; <i>Asp.</i> 369 (Kassel); <i>Dysk.</i> 91; <i>Pk.</i> 503
τραγωδία	‘tragedy’	<i>Sik.</i> 262
τρικυμία	‘triple wave’	fr.420.8
ύγιεια	‘cleanness’	<i>Col.</i> fr.1.6

<sup>342</sup> The context is an obscene joke.

<sup>343</sup> See n.329 for this fragment.

<sup>344</sup> One of many suggestions for this corrupt and difficult line.

ὕδρῖα	‘water-pot’	<i>Dysk.</i> 200 (Barigazzi)
ὕδροφοβία	‘hydrophobia’ <sup>345</sup>	fr.440
ὑπερηφάνια	‘arrogance’	fr.196.2
ὑπόνοια	‘suggestion’	<i>Col.</i> 48; <i>Ep.</i> 457; <i>Pk.</i> 716
φαρμακεία	‘use of drugs’	fr.508.9
φειδωλία	‘parsimony’	fr.734.1
φιλονικία	‘competition’	<i>Asp.</i> 318, <i>Mis.</i> 87
φιλοτιμία	‘ambition’	<i>Sam.</i> 14, fr.844.12
χρεία	‘use’	<i>Car.</i> fr.7.1, <i>Sam.</i> 402; <i>Ph.</i> 17; fr.865.2; <i>Georg.</i> 55

The noun συμβουλία is listed by Katsouris (2004); but the fragment from which it comes has now been put with the comic *adespota* (fr.1027). The adverb λῖαν is perhaps diachronically of the same type as these nouns, but synchronically is an intensifying adverb attested frequently in Menander, e.g. fr.636, fr.670, fr.768.2, fr.840.1, etc.

Several of these nouns are used as personifications of female divinities (thus Ἄγνοια, who even appears on stage, and Ἀναΐδεια); Ἑστία is of course in this category too, even if the personification as such is less marked. Similar to this rather highfalutin use is perhaps the cook’s exclamation τῆς δυσποτμίας; cooks often affect self-consciously high language and this may be an example of it.

Of the derivatives ending in –εια the majority are genuinely derived from *s*-stem adjectives, thus ἀλήθεια, ἀναΐδεια, ἀσφάλεια, δυσγένεια, ἐνδελέχεια, ἐπιμέλεια, πολυπλήθεια, πολυτέλεια, προτέλεια, συγγένεια, συνήθεια, ὑγία. On the other hand, we notice that not all derivatives to *s*-stems are formed with this suffix:

<sup>345</sup> In comic, not medical context: the joke is that people who drink wine do so because of a chronic fear of water.

Klaus already noted ἀϑ̄αδία and εὐηθία.<sup>346</sup> Also derived from an *s*-stem, κακοπαθία is first attested in Menander (LSJ list inscriptional examples from the second century but nothing earlier); Scheller refers to κακο<sup>ο</sup> as a first member that becomes the fixed basis for various new formations, thus the coinage is unsurprising.<sup>347</sup> ἀμαθία seems to be a different case, as a noun in –εια is not attested at any stage; this may indicate that the *s*-stem adjective was secondary and did not form the basis of the noun.<sup>348</sup> The analysis of εὐηθία is also complicated. It seems that in the early classical period there was a distinction between Ionic εὐηθήη (cf. Hdt. 3.139) and Attic εὐήθεια. Chantraine remarks however that such variation was known to Herodian within Attic; if Herodian is reliable here, the dialect distinction we observe might be accidental.<sup>349</sup> Forms in –εια are also found in deverbal formations to verbs in –εύω, of which there is only one example in Menander: ἀλαζόνεια (built to the stem of ἀλαζονεύω); unless a form has been lost from the system, βοήθεια and χρεία seem to have fallen victim to analogical pressures of some kind.<sup>350</sup>

There are two nouns in –ασία.<sup>351</sup> This type is formed partly by substantivisation of adjectives in –σιος, and partly by derivation from stems with a final dental. This latter at least is the type of ἀθανασία, from ἀθάνατος.<sup>352</sup> For σκευασία a deverbal interpretation from σκευάζω is more likely; as Chantraine puts it, ‘les verbes in –ζω étaient sentis comme comportant une dentale finale’, in many cases reflecting

<sup>346</sup> Klaus (1936) 22, #78 n.3. For the vocalism of ἀϑ̄αδία see p.205.

<sup>347</sup> Scheller (1951) 36-7 on what he calls ‘Schablonen’, ‘stencils’.

<sup>348</sup> See Meissner (2006) 186-197.

<sup>349</sup> Chantraine (1933) 88 has more examples of Ionic –ήη vs. Attic –εια, and in the same place makes the reference to the view of Herodian. This might also be a case for which we can assume pre-koiné interaction between Ionic and Attic, if an originally Ionic form was also found among Attic speakers.

<sup>350</sup> Verbs in –έω normally stand beside abstracts in –ία: cf. καρτερέω » καρτερία, Scheller (1951) 35. I do not understand why Chantraine (1933) 88 claims that βοήθεια is formed to βοηθός.

<sup>351</sup> Chantraine (1933) 83-6.

<sup>352</sup> Holt (1941) 59 points out that compounds are particularly prone to have the suffix –ασία.

the actual etymology.<sup>353</sup> There is no sign in Menander that the suffix –ασία had become independently productive; however his contemporary Epicurus shows that –ασία is beginning to take over from –ότης in abstract noun formation.<sup>354</sup>

#### 2.1.4.2 –σύνη<sup>355</sup>

This suffix is only represented by one word in Menander, namely ἄσχημοσύνη in fr.234,<sup>356</sup> it is similarly rare in documentary papyri.<sup>357</sup> These nouns are deadjectival (and especially tend to be derived from *n*-stems), denoting the qualities associated with a particular adjective. The philosophical nature of much of the vocabulary thus derived may perhaps explain why it is not used by Menander;<sup>358</sup> many of these nouns are also metrically unsuited to trimeters.<sup>359</sup> There is a similar dearth of nouns derived from this suffix in Callimachus,<sup>360</sup> and the papyri at all periods; but the suffix becomes productive again in the modern period.<sup>361</sup>

#### 2.1.4.3 –ότης, GSg. –ότητος

<sup>353</sup> Chantraine (1933) 85.

<sup>354</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 128, citing ὑγρασία, θερμασία and ψυχρασία.

<sup>355</sup> Chantraine (1933) 210-213; Wyss (1954).

<sup>356</sup> Taking the compounds of ὀσχημοσύνη alone, the first members ἄ°, εὐ°, and ὅμοιο° are attested first in Plato, Xenophon and Aristotle. For the other three compounds, in μεγαλο°, μονο°, and πολυ°, one must wait until Eustathius.

<sup>357</sup> Mayser (1937) 71.

<sup>358</sup> 'Il semble que le suffixe ait joué un grand rôle dans la constitution du vocabulaire moral et philosophique.' (Chantraine (1933) 212); Wyss (1954) 52 (Xen.), 59 (Plato), 66 (Plut.).

<sup>359</sup> But see Wyss (1954) 44, who rules out a metrical explanation for this suffix's rarity in Menander, due to the flexibility of the comic trimeter.

<sup>360</sup> Schmitt (1970) 113.

<sup>361</sup> Palmer (1945) 11. This new productivity might be attributed to the influence of Christian writers who coin new terms with it, Wyss (1954) 68.

This suffix expanded in the post classical period, especially in technical and philosophical language. Unlike –σύνη, this productivity ceases completely in the modern period.<sup>362</sup> Menander gives us the following seven words:

μετριότης	‘moderation’	<i>Asp.</i> 257
νεότης	‘youth’	<i>Sam.</i> 341, νεότητα fr.57.3
οικειότης	‘appropriateness’	<i>Dysk.</i> 240, <i>Asp.</i> 202, <i>Georg.</i> 128 (οικειοτη[λ])
πιθανότης	‘plausibility’	<i>Asp.</i> 390
ταπεινότης	‘lowness, abasement’	fr.602.12
χρηστότης <sup>363</sup>	‘goodness’	fr.362.1, fr.754, fr.758, fr.771
ὠμότης	‘savageness’	<i>Mis.</i> 685

These nouns received a thorough treatment by Mignot, who gave an account of their attestation in Menander. At that time, he made the dispiriting remark ‘la découverte du *Dyskolos* n’a fourni aucun exemple nouveau’;<sup>364</sup> but one word new to the corpus of genuine Menander has been discovered since (ὠμότης, known previously only in the *Monostichoi*), and one word was not included by Mignot (μετριότης). None of these words is a coinage (all are found in fourth-century oratory)<sup>365</sup> and the suffix seems in any case to belong to philosophical registers rather than to drama.<sup>366</sup> Mignot argues that the suffix was used by Ionic rather

<sup>362</sup> Palmer (1945) 11. This reverses a trend of the classical period: see Wyss (1954) 55 for the rebuilding of –σύνη nouns with –ότης (among other suffixes) in Plato.

<sup>363</sup> Mignot (1972) 141 n.50 comments that this word is ‘fréquent dans la comédie nouvelle, en particulier en Ménandre.’

<sup>364</sup> Mignot (1972) 43.

<sup>365</sup> The exception is πιθανότης, but cf. ἀπιθανότης, Aeschin. 2. 64.

<sup>366</sup> Thus Mignot (1972) cites 35 new nouns from Plato, 41 from Aristotle, 10 from Theophrastus and 7 from Epicurus; in later periods it is also striking that non-philosophers do not make many new coinages (e.g. 1 new noun from Demosthenes in the same period as Aristotle). On the rarity of the suffix in earlier comedy see Willi (2003) 139; note in particular the striking parity between Menander (13 tokens of seven lexemes) and Aristophanes (12 tokens of six lexemes).

than Attic writers,<sup>367</sup> but since it is also rare in the Ptolemaic papyri, this seems to be a matter of register rather than dialect or date.<sup>368</sup>

### 2.1.5 *s*-stems<sup>369</sup>

#### 2.1.5.1 Nouns

There are several types of *s*-stem in Greek, not all of which were originally *s*-stems and not all of which continued to inflect as *s*-stems; it will be apparent that this category is in every sense heterogeneous, if descriptively convenient. First we shall look at the main type of noun in *-ος*. These are frequently described in the literature as ‘verbal abstracts’, which could apply to the *e*-grade nouns like γένος ‘race, that which is born’; but something formally identical like νέφος ‘cloud’ has strikingly aberrant semantics.

Meissner’s study of these nouns came to the conclusion that the *s*-stem neuters were frequently derived from the compound adjectives in *-ής*.<sup>370</sup> Thus the type remained productive within Greek, despite the fact that the derivation from verbal roots no longer occurred. This productivity is aided by the derivation of *s*-stem adjectives not only from the nominal stems, but also from compound verbs.

Beside these common types, two minority patterns are also attested in Greek. One group are the neuter nouns in *-ας*, e.g. κρέας ~ Skt. *kravīh* < \**kreuh*<sub>2</sub>*s*. This type is not productive in historical Greek (though see below on ἄλας), but is extremely persistent. The animate *s*-stems in *-ώς* (e.g. αἰδώς) are only attested in Menander as the second members of compounds (both *exo*- and *endocentric*).

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<sup>367</sup> Mignot (1973) 94, evoking Weinreich’s work on contact phenomena (1953) to explain it!

<sup>368</sup> Mayser (1938) 81.

<sup>369</sup> Chantraine (1933) 414-32. The fundamental treatment of these nouns is Meissner (2006).

<sup>370</sup> Meissner (2006) 86-93.

The nouns of the majority type in –ος attested in Menander are as follows:

ἄνθος	‘flower’	<i>Dysk.</i> 951; <i>Georg.</i> 37
ἄχθος	‘pain’	<i>DE.</i> fr.6
ἄχος	‘pain’	<i>Sam.</i> 534
βάθος	‘depth’	fr.246. 1
γένος	‘family, race’	γένος fr.835. 1; <i>Sam.</i> 140; <i>Dysk.</i> 756; <sup>371</sup>  γένος <i>Asp.</i> 124; <i>Dysk.</i> 65; <i>Cith.</i> 86; <i>Sik.</i> 130, 347; fr.835. 2, 5; fr.877  γένους <i>Sam.</i> 140; <i>Sik.</i> 248; <i>Asp.</i> 172, 201  γένει <i>Asp.</i> 115; <i>Ep.</i> 337; <i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.15; <i>Pk.</i> 129
δέος	‘fear’	<i>Ep.</i> 901; from which <i>Pk.</i> 352 was restored
ἔθνος	‘tribe’	fr.508.6
ἔθος	‘custom’	<i>Pk.</i> 312; fr.401.1; ἔθει fr.120.3
ἔπος	‘word’	<i>Asp.</i> 424 (cit.)
ἔτος	‘year’	<i>Her.</i> 9; fr.77.1; <i>Mis.</i> 621; <i>Pk.</i> 124; <i>Sam.</i> 606; fr.373.5
ἦθος	‘character’	<i>Dysk.</i> 764; fr.769.3; fr.840.3; fr.165
ἔρος	‘summer’	<i>Mis.</i> 17; fr.909.4
θράσος	‘arrogance’	<i>Sam.</i> 487
κάλλος	‘beauty’	fr.793.1; <i>Dysk.</i> 193
κέρδος	‘gain’	fr.784.1
κίναδος	‘fox’	<i>Ep.</i> 165
κράνος	‘helmet’	<i>Col.</i> 30
λέχος	‘bed’	<i>Sam.</i> 495, rest. 501; λέχει fr.508.8
μέγεθος	‘size’	<i>Pk.</i> 521, 523; fr.334.2
μέρος	‘part, portion’	fr.392. 2 [and more]
μῖσος	‘hatred’	<i>Ep.</i> 433; <i>Mis.</i> 43; fr.734.2

<sup>371</sup> The papyrus is damaged here; there is no context, and the reading of Γ is most likely, but unclear.

νεφός	‘cloud’	fr.416.4
ὄφελος	‘advantage’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.15; <i>Sam.</i> 48; fr.690
πάθος	‘suffering, experience’	NSg. <i>Asp.</i> 389, <i>Sam.</i> 540, 692; ASg. <i>Asp.</i> 286, 329, 402, <i>Her.</i> 78; GSg. <i>Asp.</i> 423, <i>Mis.</i> 659 (rest. Austin, βίου Handley), <i>Sik.</i> 357, fr.510; DSg. <i>Asp.</i> 332, fr.656.3  <i>Asp.</i> 425 (cit.)
πέλαγος	‘sea’	fr.64.6
πλήθος	‘majority’	fr.736.1; rest. <i>Dysk.</i> 763
ράκος	‘rag’	<i>Ep.</i> 490
σκεῦος	‘dish’	<i>Dysk.</i> 492; <i>Sik.</i> 164
σκότος	‘darkness’	<i>Dysk.</i> 428
τάριχος	‘salt-fish’	<i>Ep.</i> fr.5.2; fr.409.11
τέγος	‘roof’	τέγος <i>Sam.</i> 45, τέγους <i>Sam.</i> 591, 593
τείχος	‘wall’	fr.607.3
τέλος	‘goal, end’	<i>Ep.</i> 926; fr.236.16; fr.287.4; <i>Sam.</i> 494, 548
ψεῦδος	‘lie’	rest. <i>Pk.</i> 329

All these stems are attested before Menander. However σκότος and τάριχος are also found as *o*-stems, in the case of σκότος in Homer and Attic drama. The reanalysis of the form as neuter is likely to have been influenced by the synonym ἔρεβος, the antonym φάος, and the adjective σκοτεινός.<sup>372</sup> The case of τάριχος is different, insofar as it was a loanword with competing analogical processes operating on it.<sup>373</sup> For the masculine former *s*-stem σής ‘moth’ see §3.4.6.2. Next to the majority type in –ος, –ους, Menander attests several nouns of the less common type in –ας:

ἄλας	‘salt’	<i>Dysk.</i> 506; <i>Ep.</i> fr.5, <i>Ph.</i> 56; fr.891
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<sup>372</sup> Egli (1954) 64-69 argues in effect for a long period in which *o*- and *s*-stem forms existed side by side before the *s*-stem was fully generalised.

<sup>373</sup> Even an *o*-stem neuter is attested; see Egli (1954) 73-5.

γήρας	‘old age’	fr.867.1; <i>Asp.</i> 12; fr.176.8; GDg. fr.852.1
κέρας	‘horn’	rest. <i>Pk.</i> 771
κρέας	‘meat’	API. κρέα <i>Dysk.</i> 519, (rest.) 549
τέρας	‘portent’	rest. <i>Dysk.</i> 194; τέρασιν <i>Ep.</i> 1116

While the absorption of loan words such as δέπας, *Myc. di-pa*, shows that the category was in some way stronger in early Greek,<sup>374</sup> by Menander’s day the class seems to be almost entirely moribund.

The form ἄλας therefore requires discussion. It is first attested in Aristotle (e.g. *Mir.* 844b16) who inflects it as a *t*-stem. All attestations in Menander may be explained as examples of the accusative plural of the root noun ἄλς.<sup>375</sup> But given the evidence of Aristotle the word is at least ambiguous. One may suppose that the accusative plural was reanalysed (from such sentences as δός μοι ἄλας, cf. *Ar.* fr. 595.4) as a neuter singular; this is particularly attractive given the semantically relevant κρέας (cf. *Dysk.* 506, 519).<sup>376</sup> But it seems extraordinary that what must have been the commonest of accusative plurals could ever have passed into one of the rarest Greek morphological classes; in addition, the inflection of κρέας as a *t*-stem is neither Attic, nor attested in Menander, and so does not seem to have been relevant in the stem formation of ἄλας.

Quite a different explanation can be developed from Benveniste’s theory of a heteroclitic inflection in *\*-n/i-*, based on a wide range of I.E. languages including

<sup>374</sup> Meissner (2006) 125. Other examples of transfer to the *-ας* stems in the historical period form a semantically well-defined group of ‘animal body parts’ (κῶας ‘fleece’, δέρας ‘hide’, <sup>9</sup>πελας ‘skin’ (cf. δέρμα : δέρας :: πέλιμα : X, X = πέλας)), see Nussbaum (1986) 151.

<sup>375</sup> This is the starting-point of the remodelling according to the sceptical formulation in Schwyzer (1959) 515; he offers no comment about how the reanalysis might have happened.

<sup>376</sup> Leumann (1950) 160-1 provides an explanation for the reanalysis, including some textual evidence, citing Hatzidakis for the semantic rôle played by τὸ κρέας (Mayser (1938) 45 adduces κέρας as a model – is this a misprint?), followed by Egli (1954) 97-8. The reanalysis is nonetheless extraordinary. For the morphology of κρέας in Menander see the table; for Attic, the relevant section of Threatte (1996).

Greek. For Benveniste, the Greek compound element ἀλι° and the DPl. ἄλασι < \*salḥ-si are examples of this pattern.<sup>377</sup> If this view is correct, the NSg. ἄλας could be seen as the generalisation of the oblique *n*-stem forms \*salḥ- into the nominative singular (replacing older \*sali). As a neuter *n*-stem, the rebuilding of the inflection as a *t*-stem (ἄλας, ἄλατος as ὄνομα, ὀνόματος; cf. the compound ἀλατοπωλία ‘salt-selling’ Arist. *Oec.* 1346 b 21) is expected. Finally, there is additional evidence for *n*-stems being attracted into the nouns in -ας in the form κέρας. The evidence of Lat. *cornu* and Germ. \**horna* indicates that this word may have inflected as an *n*-stem at a very early stage.<sup>378</sup> It is perhaps not impossible for a form to have ‘got lost’ until the late fourth century; but it is a serious drawback to the explanation nevertheless.<sup>379</sup>

#### 2.1.5.2 Adjectival formations

Next we must consider the adjectives. Forms only attested as adverbs likely to be derived from *s*-stem adjectives are indented. Anachronistically the table contains some forms which are synchronically dental stems; they are listed here for historical reasons and identified in the notes. The type within Greek starts from compound forms to historical *s*-stem nouns, but rapidly becomes associated with a secondary derivation from verbal stems.<sup>380</sup> The forms in Menander are as follows:

ἀγεννής	‘ignoble’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.13 ; <i>Sam.</i> 460
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<sup>377</sup> Benveniste (1935) 8. Compare also 6-22 on Skt. *ásthi*, *asthnáḥ* and other examples in I.E. of this heteroclitic type.

<sup>378</sup> For the details of this argument, including the Homeric evidence, see Meissner (2006) 126-7; Nussbaum (1986) 158-194.

<sup>379</sup> The other I.E. languages attest various different suffixes for this word (Arm. *al* vs. *alt*, cf. Goth. *salt*, Lith. *saldūs* ‘sweet’), therefore some semantic specification may be expected; might this be what has happened in Greek? Leumann already pointed out the distinction in Aristotle between ἄλας ‘Mineralsalz’ and ἄλες ‘Speisesalz’; do we have references to ‘Mineralsalz’ in early literature, and might this explain the difference? Finally, the patterns of inflection of these nouns need fuller study to settle the question of available analogical models for ἄλας.

<sup>380</sup> Meissner (2006) 186-197.

ἄδεῶς	‘fearlessly’	<i>Dysk.</i> 647 rest. ed. princ. from ]c
ἀηδής	‘distasteful’	<i>Dysk.</i> 939; <i>Mis.</i> 91; <i>Pk.</i> 302, 309; fr.409.1; adv. fr.843.2
ἄκρατής	‘powerless’	fr.164.1; <i>DE.</i> 16 ἄκρα[; <i>Ep.</i> 666 <sup>381</sup>
ἀληθής	‘true’	<i>Ep.</i> 956; <i>Pk.</i> 268; <i>Ep.</i> 1131; <i>Pk.</i> 271; <i>Pk.</i> 347 (]ηθες); <i>Sam.</i> 615; <i>Sik.</i> 103; <i>Ph.</i> 50, 51; fr.726.3; fr.727; fr.794; fr.814.2; fr.826.1; <i>Asp.</i> 449; <i>Dysk.</i> 152; <i>Ep.</i> 298; <i>Ph.</i> 44  Substantivised ‘the truth’ at fr.328, 725, 377.1 and 724. <sup>382</sup>  Adverb -ῶς <i>Dysk.</i> 915, 929; <i>Ep.</i> 879; <i>Mis.</i> 627; <i>Pk.</i> 721; <i>Sam.</i> 520; fr.828. 2; fr.856. 1  Comparative ἀληθέστερα fr.32
ἄμαθής	‘ignorant’	<i>Ep.</i> 1099, 1101
ἀμελῶς	‘unconcerned’	<i>Ep.</i> 721 (ἀμε[λ]ῶς)
ἄναιδής	‘shameless’	<i>Ep.</i> 527, fr.127.1, fr.188.6
ἀνηλεής	‘pitiless’	<i>Ep.</i> 899
ἄπρεπής	‘unsuitable’	<i>Sam.</i> 162 (ἀπρε[ ], <i>Ep.</i> 928
ἄσαφής	‘unclear’	<i>Her.</i> 96 (Körte <sup>383</sup> )
ἄσεβής	‘impious’	<i>Sam.</i> 322
ἄσελγής	‘lascivious’	<i>Pk.</i> 383
ἄσθενής	‘weak’	<i>Dysk.</i> 579, fr.290; superl. 602.13
ἄσφαλής	‘safe’	fr.800.3, <i>Sam.</i> 240, fr.261.1; comp. fr.866.2  adv.: <i>Ep.</i> 408, 797, <i>Sik.</i> 361; comp. <i>Ep.</i> 350, fr.866.2; superl. fr.314.2

<sup>381</sup> For the sources of this line, see n.172.

<sup>382</sup> It looks extremely suspicious that no attestation of this is found in a continuous passage in Menander; the fact that Stobaeus quotes fr. 724-6 and fr.328 under the rubric *περὶ ἀληθείας* need not assure us that the original context was a reflection on truth. But the substantivisation seems certain in fr. 724-5.

<sup>383</sup> This restoration (from ]c) is not by Arnott as claimed by Katsouris (2004). Van Leeuwen (1919), who records the actual provenance of [ἄσαφέ]ς suggested [σαφέ]ς in his apparatus; Körte later changed his mind to [τρανέ]ς.

Word-Formation

ἀτενής	‘stubborn’	fr.527 (gloss)
ἀττικουργής	‘Attic’	fr.528 (gloss)
ἀτυχής	‘unlucky’	<i>Ep.</i> 918
αὐτάρκης	‘self-sufficient’	<i>Dysk.</i> 714; fr.907.1 (P.Oxy. 3005)
ἀφανής	‘unclear’	<i>Dysk.</i> 812; <i>Mis.</i> fr.6; fr.211
διαφανής	‘clear, obvious’	<i>Pk.</i> 822; fr.471.1
δυσγενής	‘ignoble’	comp. fr.835.10
δυσσεβής	‘impious’	fr.761. 8
δυστυχής	‘hapless’	<i>Ep.</i> 218, <i>Col.</i> 32, <i>Pk.</i> 472, <i>Pk.</i> 778, <i>Ep.</i> 653, <i>Asp.</i> 418 (cit.), <i>Ep.</i> 654, <i>Asp.</i> 502 (Austin), <i>Dysk.</i> 574, 919, <i>Her.</i> fr.8, <i>Mis.</i> 20;  <i>Pk.</i> 185, fr.349.3; <i>Pk.</i> 388
δυσχερής	‘disgraceful’	<i>Asp.</i> 97; fr.236.3, fr.867.2, <i>Her.</i> 92
ἐγκρατής	‘in possession, power of’	<i>Sam.</i> 25, <i>Sam.</i> 573, <i>Sik.</i> 3, fr.877.3;  adv. –ὡς <i>Georg.</i> fr.3.2; <i>Dysk.</i> 770; fr.857.4
εἰλικρινής	‘pure, simple’	<i>Dysk.</i> 604 (a certain restoration from εἰλικρ[ι])
ἐμμανής	‘frantic’	<i>Sam.</i> 415, 534  adv. –ὡς <i>Dysk.</i> 688 (rest. Fraenkel), <i>Mis.</i> 11
ἐμπαθῶς	‘affected, emotional’	<i>Sik.</i> 220
ἐμφερής	‘resembling’	fr.193.4; <i>Cith.</i> fr.1.7; <i>Her.</i> 92
ἐνδεής	‘lacking’	fr.871.7, fr.872.1, <i>Ph.</i> 32 (rest. Sudhaus)  adv. –ὡς <i>Dysk.</i> 280, <i>Sik.</i> 87
ἐνδελεχῶς	‘continuously’	<i>Dysk.</i> 210, fr.412.3
ἐνερόχρως	‘with the complexion of a corpse’	<i>Mis.</i> fr.11 (gloss)

ἐπάναγκες	‘necessarily, customarily’	fr.762.3 <sup>384</sup>
ἐπιμελής	‘careful’	<i>Dysk.</i> 664 <i>Comp. Theoph.</i> fr.1.9 Adv. –ὦς <i>Dysk.</i> 37, <i>Pk.</i> 152, fr.236.10
ἐπισφαλής	‘dangerous’	<i>Ep.</i> 343, 172, 566
ἐπίτηδες	‘purposefully’	<i>Dysk.</i> 501
ἐπιφανής	‘distinguished’	<i>Dysk.</i> 4, fr.908.3 Comparative fr.774 Adv. –ὦς <i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.19
εὐγενής	‘noble’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.14, fr.835.12, fr.891, fr.159.2, fr.856.1, <i>Dysk.</i> 723, <i>Her.</i> fr.3.1
εὐκρινής	‘distinct, clear’	<i>Pk.</i> 353 (Wilamowitz)
εὐμενής	‘well-disposed’	<i>Dysk.</i> 969, <i>Mis.</i> 996, <sup>385</sup> <i>Sik.</i> 423, fr.903.21, fr.908.8, <i>Sam.</i> 737, <i>Theoph.</i> lyr. 18
εὐπρεπής	‘good-looking’	<i>Ep.</i> 484, <i>Pk.</i> 143
εὐσεβής	‘pious’	fr.747.2, <i>Georg.</i> 16, <i>Dysk.</i> 49 comp. <i>Georg.</i> 35 superl. <i>Sam.</i> 274
εὐτελής	‘cheap’	fr.544.1, <i>Per.</i> fr.5.2, <i>Mis.</i> fr.4.1
εὐτρεπής	‘prepared, ready’	<i>Dysk.</i> 420, <i>Pk.</i> 307, <i>Dysk.</i> 436, <i>Sam.</i> 197, 414; <i>Sam.</i> 613
εὐτυχής	‘fortunate’	<i>Ep.</i> 266; <i>Sik.</i> 380, fr.804. 17; <i>Sam.</i> 676 superl. <i>Asp.</i> 497 (Austin: εὐτυ[ ]); fr.373.1 <i>Asp.</i> 418 (cit.)
ἡμιφύης	‘half-grown’	fr.626

<sup>384</sup> This adjective is only ever used in the neuter, whether elliptically for ἐπάναγκες ἐστι or adverbially; K.-A. on this fragment comment that the use with an infinitive corresponds to Platonic practice.

<sup>385</sup> A certain restoration by Turner.

ἱεροπρεπής	‘appropriate to the sacred’	<i>Dysk.</i> 646
κακοήθης	‘wicked’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.17, fr.811.2 <i>adv. Ep.</i> 535
κατάγελως <sup>386</sup>	‘laughing stock’	fr.124.4, fr.188.7
καταφανής	‘clearly seen’	<i>Sam.</i> 500
κατηφής	‘downcast’	<i>DE.</i> 104
λευκόχρως	‘white-skinned’	<i>NSg. Sik.</i> 258, <i>ASg. Sik.</i> 200
μελαγχρής	‘tanned’	fr.667
μεταγενής	‘born after; youngest’	fr.119.3
νεαλής	‘fresh’	fr.559 (gloss)
παμμεγεθής	‘very big’	<i>NA.nt. sg. Her.</i> 2 <i>Adv. Sam.</i> 364
περιπετής	‘surrounded’	<i>Asp.</i> 336
περισκελής	‘stubborn’	comp. fr.11.3
περιφανῶς	‘seen all around’	<i>Sam.</i> 457 (ἰανῶς, rest. Lloyd-Jones)
πολυτελής	(1) ‘expensive’; (2) ‘extravagant’	(1) <i>Per.</i> fr.5.1 (2) fr.544.2, fr.236.7, fr.483
προπετής	‘precipitate, rash’	<i>Asp.</i> 324, <i>Ep.</i> 1111, fr.288.2, <i>Asp.</i> 290, <i>Pk.</i> 1017, 1019 <i>adv. –ῶς Ep.</i> 523, 1064, fr.742.2; <i>superl.</i> 928 (Hunt)
προσηνής	‘soft, gentle’	fr.803.2
προσφιλής	‘dear’	<i>Theoph. lyr.</i> 3
σαφής	‘clear’	<i>Her.</i> 96 (van Leeuwen), <sup>387</sup> <i>Pk.</i> 792, <i>Ep.</i> 456, <i>Ep.</i> 241, <i>Sam.</i> 474 <i>adv. –ῶς SAEPE</i>
συγγενής	‘related’	<i>Asp.</i> 117, fr.6.1, fr.492.2, fr.224.14, <i>Sik.</i> 238, <i>Cith.</i> fr.1.8

<sup>386</sup> Now a *t*-stem, but in origin an *s*-stem.

<sup>387</sup> Körte restored this line as [τρανέ]ς, an adjective for which there is no further evidence in Menander.

συμπαθής	‘sympathetic’	fr.907.4 ( ]παθη)
συνεχής	‘continuous’	fr.423
συνήθης	‘accustomed’	<i>Ep.</i> 259; <i>Pk.</i> 508; <i>Dysk.</i> 614; <i>Pk.</i> 176; <i>Asp.</i> 377
τετραετής	‘four years old’	<i>Sik.</i> 355 (corr. Lloyd-Jones)
τηλεφανής	‘visible from afar’	<i>Leuc.</i> 14
ύγιής	‘clean’	<i>Sik.</i> 81, 153; comp. <i>Ph.</i> 58; fr.223 <sup>388</sup>
φιλόγελως <sup>389</sup>	‘loving laughter’	<i>Dysk.</i> 968, <i>Mis.</i> 995, <i>Sik.</i> 422, fr.903.20, fr.908.7
χρυσολαβής	‘golden-handled’	fr.24.1
ψευδής	‘lying’	fr.90. 2, fr.727, fr.729
ψοφοδεής	‘shy, timid’	play-title

The adjective πλήρης is also listed by Katsouris (2004) for *Mis.* fr.12, but the relevant part of the fragment is no longer assigned to Menander (rather being listed as *TrGF adesp.*186, cf. K.-A. on Men. fr.490). The adjective έντελής was conjectured by Blaydes in fr.708.1, but this has not been accepted by K.-A.

μελαγχρής is only attested in Menander as a gloss; apparently he used the expression μελαγχρῆς μειράκιον (presumably the kind of hard-working outdoors type Sostratos pretends to be, cf. *Dysk.*535). The adjective is also attested at Poliochus fr.2.2 and Antiphanes fr.133.3, and in glosses for Cratinus fr.471 and Eupolis fr.468. The glosses give interesting further details. Both the scholiast and Photius (sources for Eupolis and Cratinus) claim that μελαγχρής is particularly Attic, Photius also admitting the existence of a form μελάγχρωσ; Moeris however,

<sup>388</sup> The word was also suggested for *Con.* 7 by Sudhaus, presumably on the basis of the presence of the word κροτών (see discussion of the proverb in n.280).

<sup>389</sup> Like κατάγελως this was remade into a *t*-stem, see n.386. On the accent of these forms see Postgate (1924) 27, §75; Lejeune (1944) 67-8.

also citing Cratinus, argues that the form in ὄχρωσ was Attic, attributing ὄχρης to the Ἑλληνες. This comment is of especial interest, because of the attestation in Menander of ἐνερόχρωσ and λευκόχρωσ,<sup>390</sup> ASg. λευκόχρων (the adjectives in ὄγελωσ are rather different, because evidence suggests that these were remade into *t*-stems). From our point of view, these latter are different in being bahuvrihi compounds from the animate *s*-stem type, rather than *s*-stem adjectives; from the ancient scholar's comment, it appears that this difference in analysis was not immediately clear in antiquity.

Of the subgroup of the *s*-stem adjectives ending in -ώδης Menander attests only five. The suffix began as a compositional element derived ultimately from the root for 'to smell', cf. Lat. *odor*, and Greek compounds such as εὐώδης. The suffix -ώδης was extracted from such formations and used independently; as Menander's examples show, this could include startling formations proving the productivity of the system:

Ἀλεξανδρώδης	'of Alexander the Great'	fr.598
βορβορώδης	'filthy'	fr.27
ἐργώδης	'laborious'	<i>Dysk.</i> 966, <i>Asp.</i> 317, fr.58.2
ἰώδης	'green'	<i>Sik.</i> 285 <sup>391</sup>
μοιχώδης	'adulterous'	<i>Sik.</i> 210

#### 2.1.6 *u*-stems

The Greek *u*-stems are either substantives or adjectives; neither are productive.

However they merit inclusion as Menander attests several peculiar forms.

<sup>390</sup> λευκόχρωσ also Eubulus fr.35; see Hunter (1983) 126 for parallels from dithyramb, from which they entered Middle Comedy and thence New Comedy.

<sup>391</sup> This is restored by Schroeder from ]δουσ

2.1.6.1 Nominal types

The following nouns are attested. Nouns with *u*-stems are found in all three genders, as indicated by the article below:

ἄστυ, τό	‘town’	ἄστυ <i>Georg.</i> fr.5.2; ἄστεως <i>Ep.</i> 578, <i>Her.</i> fr.1.1, <i>Sik.</i> 183, <i>Sam.</i> 122; ἄστει <i>Sik.</i> 57, fr.299.1
βότρυς, ό	‘grape’	fr.409.11
δασύ, τό	‘thicket’	<i>Dysk.</i> 120, <i>Ep.</i> 242
ἔγγελυς, ἡ	‘eel’	API. fr.224.5, <sup>392</sup> 13
ἰσχύς, ἡ	‘strength’	fr.339.2, fr.728.1
ἰχθύς, ό	‘fish’	fr.631.2, <i>Sam.</i> 98
κόνδυ, τό	‘drinking vessel’	<i>Col.</i> fr.2.2
μῦς, ό	‘mouse’	fr.166
ὄλολυς, ό	‘pansy’	fr.109
ὄσφυς, ἡ	‘loins’	<i>Dysk.</i> 532, 373, 451, 524
ὄφρυς, ἡ	‘eyebrow’	fr.37.2, fr.349.1, fr.857. 3, <i>Dysk.</i> 423, <i>Ep.</i> 633
πέλεκυς, ό	‘axe’	<i>Dysk.</i> 506, <i>Ep.</i> 386
χέλυς, ἡ	‘lyre’	<i>Leuc.</i> fr.2

Of particular interest is the noun δασύ ‘bush’ (substantivised neuter from δασύς ‘thick’); Zini, on the basis of *Ep.* 242, thought that the text presented the more modern form δάσος, citing Thomas Magister in support. The papyrus evidence was ambiguous, as it does not distinguish *s*-stem δάσει from *u*-stem δασεῖ. The discovery of the *Dyskolos* established that Menander knew the form δασύ, however; δασεῖ is thus to be preferred.

<sup>392</sup> The beginning of the line is marked corrupt in K.-A.; it does not scan and the MSS do not agree. Our ἔγγέλεις however do not appear to be affected.

The word ὄλολος is ascribed to Menander only in a gloss (fr.109). The word was used by Menander in the *Deisidaimon*, by Theopompus in the *Teisamenos* (fr.62), and independent of the gloss in Anaxandrides' *Odysseus* (fr.35.4). Apparently the word was used as an appellative for an effeminate man.

Of importance for ancient Greek lexicography and word-formation is the noun χέλος. The fragment this is taken from (*Leuc.* fr.2) is cited by Choeroboscus, who seeks to demonstrate a morphological point about *u*-stem nouns. *En passant*, he remarks that χέλος in Menander means 'lyre' (first *HHMerc.* 25, which also details the semantic development). The relationship of this form to Hesychius' χελεύς is not known.<sup>393</sup>

#### 2.1.6.2 Adjectives

The adjectives<sup>394</sup> and adverbs are a rather larger class, with the following attestations in Menander:

βαθύς	'deep'	<i>Sik.</i> 415, <sup>395</sup> <i>Dysk.</i> 527, fr.529 <sup>396</sup>
βαρύς	'heavy'	<i>Car.</i> 42, <i>Sik.</i> 159; fr.901; fr.867.1
βραδύς	'slow'	βραδύτερον <i>Ep.</i> 382
βραχύς	'short'	<i>Pk.</i> 815; fr.767.2; fr.127.2; <i>Ep.</i> 230 adv. βραχύ: <i>Dysk.</i> 148, 299, <i>Ep.</i> 364, <i>P.Ant.</i> 55.23, fr.134 βραχ[ fr.76 (= <i>CGFP</i> 111)
γλυκύς	'sweet'	<i>Dysk.</i> 669; <i>Ep.</i> 862; fr.479.1 (disp. Porson); fr.781; <i>Comp.</i> : <i>Ep.</i> fr.2.1;

<sup>393</sup> See Perpillou (1973) 147.

<sup>394</sup> For the history of which see de Lamberterie (1998).

<sup>395</sup> The papyrus reads βαθυ[; the extremely broken context makes restoration hazardous. A compound is thinkable (Lloyd-Jones (1966a) 155 = Lloyd-Jones (1990) 74 suggested βαθύπλουτος which is adopted by Arnott (2000); for the formation of the first member cf. βαρύφωνος fr.186 vs. ἰχθυοπόλης fr.151.2).

<sup>396</sup> This gloss may be incorrect, and may reflect a mistaken interpretation of the *Dyskolos* passage.

		Superl.: fr.448; <i>Ep.</i> 989, 143, 953 (rest. Wilamowitz); <i>Her.</i> fr.5; fr.350.2; <i>Ep.</i> 888; <i>Ep.</i> fr.2.4
εὐθύς	‘immediately’	<i>Asp.</i> 79, 108, 323, 353, 433, <i>Georg.</i> fr.1.4, fr.3.4, <i>Dysk.</i> 12, 52, 59, 79, 108, 136, 236, 258, 355, 366, 409, 481, 494, 525, 540, 581, 671; <i>Ep.</i> 264, 398, 521, 540, 586; <i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.6; <i>Car.</i> 22; <i>Cith.</i> 75; <i>Mis.</i> 471; <i>Pk.</i> 269, 281, 313, 369, 804, 988; <i>Sam.</i> 64, 198, 231, 255, 413, 724; <i>Sik.</i> 136, 191, 203, 321; <i>Ph.</i> 36; fr.63.2, 209.1, 255.4, 358.1, 459.2, 500.2 <sup>397</sup>
ἡδύς	‘sweet’	ἡδύς attributive: <i>Sam.</i> 412; <i>Sam.</i> 699;  ἡδύ predicative: fr.210.1 (bis); fr.600; <i>Ep.</i> 680; <i>Cith.</i> fr.1.4; fr.95; <i>Dysk.</i> 896; fr.356.1; fr.398  ἡδιον: fr.825.1  adv. ἡδέως: fr.606, <i>Asp.</i> 435, <i>DE.</i> 92; <i>Dysk.</i> 9, 136, 270, 658, 726; <i>Ep.</i> 721; <i>Pk.</i> 324  adv. ἡδιστον: <i>Dysk.</i> 335
ἡμιους	‘half’	<i>Dysk.</i> 738
θηλυς	‘female’	always nt.: <i>Pk.</i> 121, fr.656.3
θρασύς	‘violent’	<i>Per.</i> 17, <i>Sam.</i> 332, fr.544.2, <i>Sik.</i> 97 (suppl. Corbato); fr.163.2  Comp.: <i>Pk.</i> 151  Superl.: fr.745.1
οξύς <sup>398</sup>	‘sharp’	<i>Dysk.</i> 715, 116
παχύς	‘stout, mighty’	fr.25.1, 4
πολύς	‘many, much’	<i>Dysk.</i> 404, 525, <i>Sam.</i> 207, <i>Sik.</i> 198 (rest.), fr.735, fr.867.1 (xronov); SAEPE  fr.25.2
πρέσβυς	‘old’	Comp.: πρεσβύτερος: <i>Asp.</i> 255, 260, <i>Dysk.</i> 493, <i>Sam.</i> 237;  Superl.: πρεσβύτατος: <i>Asp.</i> 172
ταχύς	‘swift’	τάχυ: <i>Asp.</i> 379, 391, 401; <i>Georg.</i> fr.2.5; <i>DE.</i> 52; <i>Dysk.</i> 52, 63, 619, 638; <i>Ep.</i> 362, 554; <i>Theoph.</i> fr.3.1; <i>Pk.</i> 992, 1009; <i>Per.</i> 10; <i>Sam.</i> 91, 174, 395, 595, 660; <i>Sik.</i> 59, 364,

<sup>397</sup> Fr.132 is sometimes completed by editors with the addition of the word εὐθύς, but K.-A. simply indicate the lacuna.

<sup>398</sup> παροξύς was thought by Klaus (1936) 110-1, §427, to stand at *Sam.* 612, but this has been disproved by the Bodmer codex (where the reading is πέπασσο).

		382, 395; fr.19.2, fr.373.3, fr.730.2, fr.764.1, fr.903.13 ταχέως: <i>Asp.</i> 342, <i>Dysk.</i> 63, <i>Ep.</i> 568, <i>Col.</i> 43, <i>Mis.</i> 676, <sup>399</sup> <i>Sam.</i> 193, fr.420.3
τραχύς	‘harsh’	<i>Sam.</i> 550

The adjective ταχύς is only attested in Menander as an adverb, as already noted by Klaus.<sup>400</sup> The comparative adverb was τάχιον (fr.296.16), but it is likely that this is the result of textual corruption. The positive adverbial form in Menander is ταχέως. The positive of the adjective derived from the root κρατ– is not attested, only the comparative and superlative.

The adjective γλυκύς is especially common in vocative forms as a term of endearing address in the language of women.<sup>401</sup>

## 2.1.7 Velar stems

### 2.1.7.1 Athematic substantives

Similarly to the *u*-stems, the nominal velar suffixes are unproductive, their interest lying rather in several unusual forms. These nouns represent various inflectional types in –κ–, –χ–, or –γ–. Many are without etymology, and others are unusual.

ἄνθραξ	‘coal’	fr.539.1; fr.71; <i>Dysk.</i> 547; <i>Sam.</i> 227
ἄρπα[γιστο-	‘grasping’	<i>Col.</i> fr.13a. 4 Arnott <sup>402</sup>
γλαῦξ	‘owl’	fr.844.11
δοίδυξ	‘pestle’	<i>Col.</i> 101
εὐῆλιξ	‘of the prime of life’	<i>Dysk.</i> 950

<sup>399</sup> See above p.92.

<sup>400</sup> Klaus (1936) 136, §516.

<sup>401</sup> See Bain (1984) 36-7.

<sup>402</sup> The adjective is a supplement by Klaus (1936) s.v., which Arnott does not himself endorse, see below.

θρίξ	‘hair’	fr.776; <i>Mis.</i> 723; <i>Sik.</i> 221 (Austin, Sandbach); <i>Dysk.</i> 673; <i>Ep.</i> 488; <i>Her.</i> 5; <i>Pk.</i> 173; fr.302 (corrupt text); fr.450.2
κλίμαξ	‘ladder’	fr.607.2
κόλαξ	‘flatterer’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.16; <i>Col.</i> 94
κόραξ	‘raven’	<i>Dysk.</i> 112, 432; <i>Ep.</i> 160; <i>Her.</i> 70; <i>Pk.</i> 396; <i>Sam.</i> 133, 353, 370
μείραξ	‘girl’	<i>Pk.</i> 134, 263
πλούταξ	‘rich man’	fr.351.10
προίξ	‘dowry’	<i>Asp.</i> 135, 269; <i>Dysk.</i> 738, 763, 843, 845; <i>Sam.</i> 727; <i>Fl.</i> 6 ]οικα; fr.98.2
πτέρυξ	‘wing’	<i>Ep.</i> 404, <i>Sik.</i> 280
στράγξ	‘trickle’	fr.179
φλόξ	‘flame’	<i>Sam.</i> 674 (v.1.)
χάραξ	‘stake’	<i>Dysk.</i> 113 <sup>403</sup>
χοῖνιξ	‘dry measure’	<i>Her.</i> 16

Only the adjective εὐῆλιξ is attested for the first time in Menander. Another adjective with a guttural stem has been restored, namely ἄρπαξ. The reading on the papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 10.1237) is αρπα[ ], and the form is listed by Klaus, who gives a restoration ἄρπα[γίστατος] and cites the evidence for the adjective in Aristophanes, Plato Comicus (also the superlative), Xenophon, Lycophron, and Bianor.<sup>404</sup> The attestations from comedy are encouraging, but there is no proof the word was really used by Menander.

<sup>403</sup> Furnished with the marginal gloss μαστιγγ[α]. ‘Stake’ (LSJ) may therefore not be the best translation here; but ‘whip’ as such seems an unlikely sense for the word. Some kind of flexible piece of wood must be meant (Handley (1965) 151 suggests a piece of tree, tree-prop, fence post, or Knemon’s own stick; perhaps a piece of fencing is most likely).

<sup>404</sup> Klaus (1937) 27, §106.

The etymologies of many of these words are obscure; Chantraine comments on δοίδυξ, for example, that ‘l’*étymologie est obscure, comporte en tout cas un redoublement expressif.*’<sup>405</sup>

κόλαξ ‘parasite’ is of more interest to Latinists than Hellenists, because of the complex question of the relation between this word and Latin *colax* (Ter. *Eun.* 30). The Latin is mostly taken to be a direct loan from the Greek, even though what Terence would mean by a ‘parasitic parasite’ (*colax parasitus*) is unclear. An interesting case for a purely Latin derivation of *colax* designed also to play on the Greek κόλαξ has also been made.<sup>406</sup>

It is unsurprising that the word κόραξ is only attested in the expression ἐς κόρακας ‘go to hell!’. Gomme also restored the expression at *Ep.* 943; this does require emending εἶσ on the papyrus to ἐς, as εἶς is never attested in this expression elsewhere in Menander.<sup>407</sup>

#### 2.1.7.2 –ικός<sup>408</sup>

This suffix was one of the most productive adjective-forming suffixes in Greek. Except for ethnica (Ἀχαιϊκός, Πελασγικός, Τρωϊκός), Homer gives us only two examples, one of which (παρθενική, ‘maiden’ *Il.* 18.567; *Od.* 7.20, 12.40) seems to indicate that the suffix originated in diminutive forms.<sup>409</sup> The other Homeric lexeme, ὀρφανικός, used predicatively of ‘the day that will see you an orphan’,

<sup>405</sup> Chantraine (1933) 383.

<sup>406</sup> Fontaine (2007); the different quantity of the /a/ in κόλαξ and *colāx* might give us pause, however, and the question of exactly how productive *-āx* was in Latin.

<sup>407</sup> For a proposed interpretation of κόραξ as an Indo-Iranian loanword in Greek see Brust (2008) 354-356.

<sup>408</sup> For discussion of this suffix’s history within Greek cf. Pepler (1910) on Aristophanes; more generally Chantraine (1933) 384-96, superseded by Chantraine (1956) 97-171 which explores the classical period in great detail.

<sup>409</sup> Diminutive origins for the *\*-ko-* suffix in Indo-European have been explored by Jurafsky (1996); but the idea is much earlier, cf. Chantraine (1933) 386: ‘[παρθενική] peut-être avec une valeur diminutive, semble avoir conservé un vieil emploi du suffixe’.

already shows the semantics that become familiar in the classical period, namely the formation of adjectives of appurtenance derived from words for persons.<sup>410</sup> For Chantraine, the fifth century marked a new phase of productivity for this suffix; for example Thucydides has thirty-eight lexemes against Herodotus' thirteen. This is especially associated with technical registers; thus Euripides, for example, has the earliest examples of the adjectives being used to refer to techniques, e.g. at *Bacch.*229 (μαντική), *Suppl.*906 (μουσική).<sup>411</sup>

The adjectives are used in two major functions: the first is *classificatory*, i.e. distinguishing kinds according to appurtenance. This function reaches its apotheosis in passages like the opening of Plato's *Sophist*, where a huge string of such adjectives, a large proportion of which are coinages, are used in the classification of the sophist according to various schemes.<sup>412</sup> The second major function of the adjectives in -ικός is to express *aptitude*. This last, Chantraine suggests, is derived from a reanalysis of the comparative: if a μουσικώτερος ἀνὴρ (cf. E. *Hipp.* 989) is a 'man who has more to do with music', then he is presumably 'better at music', in which case the μουσικός is 'good at music'.<sup>413</sup> Obviously this presupposes the use of these adjectives in the comparative at all, something which apparently develops in the historical period. It should however be noted that the massive increase in formations in the fifth and fourth centuries

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<sup>410</sup> This has consequences for derivation: Chantraine (1933) 386 derives several of the nouns found in Aeschylus from various stem types, including *ā*-stems (ἀρχή >> ἀρχικός) and *u*-stems (ἄστυ >> ἄστικός); in Chantraine (1956) 116 he revised this view and implicitly rejected derivations from non-personal nouns (thus ἀρχικός and ἄστικός would have to come from ἀρχός and ἄστός respectively). By implication the spread of these nouns to derivations from other types must be a later development, though one that has already occurred by Menander's time.

<sup>411</sup> Chantraine (1956) 119.

<sup>412</sup> The vocabulary of the *Sophist* was studied by Campbell (1867); see also Chantraine (1956) 133-4.

<sup>413</sup> Chantraine (1956) 119.

leads to the suffix becoming ever less specific.<sup>414</sup> It should therefore not be assumed that the suffix in the post-classical period carries the same intellectual connotations as it did when Aristophanes caricatured the sophists.<sup>415</sup>

The following adjectives are attested in Menander:

ἀνδρικός	‘manly’	<i>Sik.</i> 215, 25
ἀσθενικός	‘weak’	<i>Ph.</i> 47 <sup>416</sup>
ἀστικός	‘urbane’	<i>Dysk.</i> 41, <i>Her.</i> fr.9
βαρβαρικός	‘barbarian’	<i>Dysk.</i> 923
γεννικός	‘noble’	<i>Dysk.</i> 321, <i>Georg.</i> 42
γραμματική	‘grammar’	fr.318
δημοτικός	‘public’	<i>Sik.</i> 182 ( ]τικός) <sup>417</sup>
διακονικῶς	‘menial, pertaining to service’	fr.110.1 <sup>418</sup>
εἰρηνικός	‘peaceful’	<i>Epitrepontes</i> , <i>P. Berol.</i> 21142 = <i>CGFPR</i> 138.13, cf. Sandbach (1990) 343 (εἰρη.[ ]) <sup>419</sup>
ἐνθεαστικῶς	‘inspired; in love’	<i>Dysk.</i> 44, 688 (conj.)
ἐργατικός	‘workman-like’	<i>Sik.</i> 182, see n.417
ἐρωτικός	‘loving, in love’	<i>Mis.</i> 3; –ῶς <i>Sam.</i> 166
εὔρετικός	‘good for investigations’	fr.37.1
θεραπευτικός	‘good at caring’	fr.296.15
κολακικός	‘good at flattering’	<i>Dysk.</i> 492

<sup>414</sup> Schmitt (1970) 86.

<sup>415</sup> On which Willi (2003) 139-145.

<sup>416</sup> The first four letters are rather unclear; Kock suggested φιλονικός.

<sup>417</sup> The papyrus reads only ]τικός; this has been restored as both δημοτικός and ἐργατικός, q.v.

<sup>418</sup> Paraphrased, it is thought, in *Pap. I.F.A.O.* 337, a supposed hypothesis of the play from which this fragment was taken (the *Demiourgos*), with διακονῶν; cf. K.-A. on the *Demiourgos* fragments (110-113) and Boyaval (1970) 5-7 with Plate 2a for an edition of the hypothesis, and Koenen’s (1971) corrections..

<sup>419</sup> Austin (1973) *ad loc.* records εἰρηνικός as a suggestion of Kassel (‘eine Form von εἰρηνικός?’); the only other available adjective, εἰρηναῖος would not scan (though a word such as εἰρηνοποιός, cf. Xen. *HG.* 6.3.4 cannot be excluded). The papyrus is extremely fragmentary, and no comment on the use of the adjective can be made.

κυνικός	‘Cynic’	fr.114.2
μελαγχολικός	‘melancholic’	<i>Asp.</i> 339
μουσική	‘music’	fr.178
νησιωτικός	‘from the islands’	fr.351.3 <sup>420</sup>
ξενικός	‘foreign’	<i>Asp.</i> 374
ὀλιγαρχικός	‘oligarchic’	<i>Sik.</i> 156
πειστικός	‘persuasive’	fr.362.4
πηλίκος	‘how old?’	<i>Asp.</i> 259; fr.804.15
πολεμικός	‘hostile’	<i>Pk.</i> 172
πρακτικός	‘fit for action’	<i>Dysk.</i> 56, 128
προνοητικός	‘cautious’	<i>Ep.</i> 561
στρατηγικός	‘military’	fr.608.2
στρατιωτικός	‘military’	<i>Mis.</i> 102, 92
ταρακτικῶς	‘disturbing, disturbed’	<i>Ep.</i> 578
τοπαστικός	‘divinatory’	<i>Ep.</i> 557
τραγικός	‘tragic’	<i>Ep.</i> 1125
φθισικός	‘consumptive’	fr.761. 7 Doric φθιτικός <i>Asp.</i> 464
φορτικός	‘vulgar, tiresome’	<i>Dysk.</i> 772, <i>Ph.</i> 40 (comp.)
φυλακτικῶς	‘cautious’	<i>Dysk.</i> 95

The forms attested in Menander include also the following ethnica:

Ἀρκαδικός	fr.351.8
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<sup>420</sup> These lines of the fragment as it is transmitted in Athenaeus, οἷον τὰ μὲν νησιωτικὰ ταυτὶ ξενόδρια, do not scan. The easiest solution is that of Grotius, namely the removal of μὲν; but Kassel also thought of changing νησιωτικά to νησαῖα to avoid a broken anapaest in the fourth foot, in which case we would need to remove this adjective from our list. My suspicion is that the adjective does belong here, however. A broken anapaest between adjective and demonstrative is perhaps not insufferable. Elsewhere, νησιωτικός seems to have a more prosaic flavour (*Hdt.* 7. 80, *Thuc.* 7. 57; νησαῖος by contrast is only attested in tragic lyric and Hellenistic poetry) and its more technical sense (e.g. at *Ar. Av.* 1422 of a kind of official, albeit comically), particularly as a designation of geographical location (*Hdt. op. cit.*); in addition, the suffix –ικός is said by Pepler (1910) 435 to be used particularly frequently by the cooks of New Comedy. The use of the semantically close Αἰγαῖος ‘Aegean’ does not support νησαῖος, since this adjective is used exclusively in paratragic contexts, see §2.1.8.3.

Ἑλληνικός	<i>Mis.</i> 716, <i>Pk.</i> 279
Ἴωνικός	fr.351.10
Λακωνικός	<i>Mis.</i> fr.8
Λυβικός	fr.64.7
Περσικός	fr.26.2
Ταναγρικός	fr.678

Related to this type of ethnon are the adjectives in –ιακός. The precise origin of the –α– is unclear. The only example in Menander is Κορινθιακός (*Pk.* 125).

The pronominal adjective πηλίκος is formed rather differently to the other adjectives and is distinct in its accentuation (which it shares with other correlatives like τηλίκος etc.). It is included here for the sake of completeness.

More interesting are the thirty-four oxytone adjectives in –ικός. Given the fragmentary state of the text, this is a remarkably large number (compare Euripides' use of 24, and Thucydides' of 38). Several of the forms used by Menander contrast with adjectives with different stem formations. In most cases, the form in –ικός is apparently less frequent and more marked than the other adjective, though sometimes the two forms have developed specific meanings. One such example is τραγικός, 'pertaining to tragic drama' as opposed to τραγῶδος 'sad, depressing'; similarly ἀστικός 'urban' contrasts with ἀστεῖος 'urbane' (fr.503, fr.340.1, 384.1, *Dysk.* 658, *Sam.* 364, 657, 17, *FI.* 49, *Asp.* 375, *Cith.* fr.4) – in both these cases, the –ικός adjective is more derivationally transparent, retaining a meaning closer to that of the base noun. The case of ἀσθενικός vs. ἀσθενής is rather different. The former is used only once, and means 'sickly'; the dispositional semantics of the suffix are quite clear. This gives

us an insight into the function of this particular suffix in Menander's period; the transparency of its semantics indicates that it was still productive.

Menander attests the beginnings of the productivity of the suffix *-τικός*, particularly associated with the Koiné.<sup>421</sup> Of the thirty-five adjectives, seventeen end with this sequence. In origin, and still to a large extent in Menander, they are derived from verbal adjectives in *-τός* (e.g. *ἄστικός* << *ἄστος*) or agent nouns in *-της* (e.g. *ἐργατικός* << *ἐργάτης*). The second type is particularly significant, because the rise of agent nouns in *-της* and the expansion of *-ικός* are more or less contemporary. The suffix *-τικός* was therefore a natural consequence of the increased opportunity for building *-ικός* adjectives to agent nouns in the fifth century. Chantraine observes that the suffix was already independent by the time of Plato.<sup>422</sup>

One of the major functions of this suffix was the formation of technical terms. In Menander these include *μελαγχολικός*, referring to the 'black bile' thought to cause various medical problems. The case is of especial interest, because Menander appears to extract a joke of sorts from it; the same person is called *μελαγχολικός* and *πικρός*, but the property of being *πικρόχολος* is in fact attested in medical literature, and appears to be opposed to the quality of *μελάγχολος* (cf. e.g. *Hipp. Acut.* 15).

It was said above that these adjectives came especially to be associated with the idea of aptitude or appropriateness for a particular role. This sense is found in Menander in, for example, *εὐρετικός* (text repaired thanks to Terence's Latin version of the *Andria*), *θεραπευτικός*, *κολακικός* and *πειστικός*.

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<sup>421</sup> For this suffix see Fraenkel (1913).

<sup>422</sup> Chantraine (1956) 136, where the Platonic usage is presented statistically.

A syntactic feature of the Koiné was the use of the adverbs of these adjectives with ἔχειν; in Menander the following constructions are attested: ἔχε φυλακτικῶς;<sup>423</sup> ταρακτικῶς ἔχων; ἔχειν ἐνθραστικῶς; ἔχοντα...ἐρωτικῶς. According to Fraenkel,<sup>424</sup> this construction has desiderative semantics, and replaces the native Attic (and Old Ionic) ‘desiderative’ verb in –σεῖω.<sup>425</sup> This is the history endorsed by the Atticists, according to the gloss ὀψείοντες· ὀπτικῶς ἔχοντες (Apollon. Soph. 125.32). It is clear from examples like ταρακτικῶς ἔχων that these are not ‘desideratives’ in the sense of ‘wishing to do x’ but rather in the sense of ‘having an urge to do x’. There is no evidence for this connection in Menander, since he does not use verbs in –σεῖω.

#### 2.1.8 Other thematic adjectives

##### 2.1.8.1 –τός

The suffix –τός was used from the I.E. period to form verbal adjectives; in some branches these were incorporated into the verbal system (e.g. in the formation of the Latin and Germanic past participles). In Greek the suffix retains a close association with verbal roots. This sometimes even occasioned the modification of the vocalism of a verbal adjective (e.g. τρεπτός for expected Ø-grade \*τραπτός; similarly θρεπτός, στρεπτός etc.).<sup>426</sup> On the other hand the suffix also leads an extremely productive and independent life in the formation of adjectives, particularly of compounds. Thus Homer opposes κεχαρισμένος ‘delighted’ to ἀχάριστος ‘displeased’, εὐχάριστος ‘pleased’; this distinction continues in later

<sup>423</sup> For the association of the middle voice with adjectives in –τικός cf. Fraenkel (1913) 210.

<sup>424</sup> Fraenkel (1913) 208.

<sup>425</sup> For this suffix see Duhoux (2000) 351.

<sup>426</sup> Chantraine (1933) 305. On the other hand, ‘jamais l’adjectif en –τός n’est devenu un participe passif rigoureusement enfermé dans le cadre de la conjugaison’ (307), no doubt because the formation competed with and was eventually ousted by the participle in –μενος, as in Modern Greek.

Greek as well, cf. Pl. *Sph.* 249d ὅσα ἀκίνητα καὶ κεκινημένα (but contrast *Hes.Op.* 3f. ἄφατοί τε φατοί τε).<sup>427</sup>

As for the semantics of the formation, Greek innovated in giving these adjectives a modal sense, thus θνητός ‘he who can die’; by contrast, the variable valence of these adjectives is held to be an archaism.<sup>428</sup>

Durham includes a section on the adjectives on –τός, commenting that they ‘appear to be very common in the pages of Menander’.<sup>429</sup> Paradoxically for Durham, it is precisely the Koiné that spells the doom of these adjectives: as early as the New Testament, ‘le participe parfait est employé pour l’ancien adjectif en –τός qui sort de l’usage’.<sup>430</sup> All the more striking then that Durham is able to identify what he considers a ‘Koiné stratum’ of adjectives in –τός, i.e. that are not attested in his corpus of ‘Attic’ writers. On this view, the suffix enjoyed a certain productivity before it fell to the perfect participle.

The adjectives with this suffix now attested in Menander as as follows:

ἄβρωτος	‘inedible’	<i>Dysk.</i> 452
ἀγαπητός	‘satisfying’	fr.224.3
ἀδιήγητος	‘indescribable’	<i>Dysk.</i> 405
ἀδούλευτος	‘one unenslaved; bridegroom’	fr.517 (gloss)
ἀδύνατος	‘impossible’	<i>Ep.</i> 936, <i>Sam.</i> 176, fr.687.1, fr.725, fr.845.5, <i>Pk.</i> 774
ἄθαπτος	‘unburied’	fr.502 (gloss)
αἰρετός	‘choice’	<i>Mis.</i> 13 (comp.)
αἰχμάλωτος	‘prisoner’	<i>Asp.</i> 112, 36; <i>Mis.</i> 636; fem. <i>Mis.</i> 37; <i>Asp.</i> 32

<sup>427</sup> Chantraine (1933) 303-304 for further examples.

<sup>428</sup> Chantraine (1933) 306 traces it back to the I.E. root, which could be transitive or intransitive.

<sup>429</sup> Durham (1913) 30.

<sup>430</sup> Chantraine (1933) 307

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ἀκάλυπτος	‘secret’	fr.298.6
ἄκρατος	‘unmixed wine’	<i>Sam.</i> 341, fr.735, <i>Theoph.</i> fr.3.3, <i>Sam.</i> 394, fr.401.2, fr.66.3.
ἀλόγιστος	‘thoughtless, unthinking’	1) of people: <i>Asp.</i> 327, <i>Dysk.</i> 836, fr.298.2, fr.715.2, 2) of things: fr.839.1, fr.197.1, fr.742.2
ἄλωτος	‘attainable’	<i>Dysk.</i> 862
ἄμεμπτος	‘blameless’	fr.412.2
ἀναμάρτητος	‘blameless’	<i>Ep.</i> 908
ἀνάριστος	‘unbreakfasted’	fr.521 (gloss)
ἀνάστατος	‘ruined’	<i>Ep.</i> 166; <sup>431</sup> <i>Col.</i> 87
ἀναφρόδιτος	‘unloved’	<i>Ph.</i> 84 (ἰδιτος, rest. Turner)
ἀνέλπιστος	‘unhoped for’	<i>Asp.</i> 18, <i>Sik.</i> 128
ἀνεπίπληκτος	‘irreproachable’	<i>Ep.</i> 910
ἀνήκεστος	‘incurable’	<i>Dysk.</i> 514
ἀνόητος	‘thoughtless’	(1) people: <i>P.Did.</i> 1.11; fr.544; <i>Sam.</i> 327, fr.839.2 (2) things: <i>Sam.</i> 341, 641; (3) subst.: fr.711, <i>Ph.</i> 47, fr.86.2
ἀνόνητος	‘deriving no benefit from; without benefit’ <sup>432</sup>	<i>Her.</i> 51 ἀνονητο[
ἀνυπέρβλητος	‘insurpassable’	<i>Sam.</i> 215
ἀνυπόπτως	‘unsuspectedly’	fr.841.1
ἄορατος	‘unseen, invisible’	<i>Sam.</i> 164
ἀπαρηγόρητος	‘uncontrollable’	fr.792
ἄπιστος	‘faithless’	<i>Asp.</i> 415, 416 (citt.); <i>Pk.</i> 760 (rest.) <sup>433</sup> ; <i>Sam.</i> 545; fr.685.1; fr.808; <i>Pk.</i> 802
ἄπληστος	‘insatiate’	<i>Sik.</i> 43, 46

<sup>431</sup> Restored by Kock from ]τον, see διάστατος.

<sup>432</sup> These meanings are taken from LSJ. This passage of the *Hero* is very damaged and reads only θύσαιμ’ ἀνονητο[; the syntactic function of the adjective is thus impossible to reconstruct.

<sup>433</sup> This was Körte’s suggestion for a gap; Sudhaus restored ἄελπτον, which would add another adjective in –τος to Menander’s corpus.

Word-Formation

ἀποιήτος	‘undone’	fr.110.4
ἀπόκοιτος	‘sleeping away from’	<i>Ep.</i> 136; <i>CGFPR</i> fr.135.6 <sup>434</sup>
ἀπονόητος	‘witless’ (?) <sup>435</sup>	<i>Pk.</i> 397 (ἀ[.....]τωι rest. Körte, but cf. s.v. ἀυθέκαστος rest. Jensen)
ἀπόπληκτος	‘paralysed, stricken’	<i>Dysk.</i> 839, <i>Ep.</i> 561, <i>Dysk.</i> 312, <i>Asp.</i> 239; <i>Sam.</i> 105, <i>Pk.</i> 496
ἀπροσδόκητος	‘unexpected’	(1) Adj: <i>Sam.</i> 207; <i>Asp.</i> 426 (cit.), 409; <i>Her.</i> 13 (rest.); <i>Sam.</i> 534  (2) Subst: fr.125.4; <i>Mis.</i> 714;  <i>Mis.</i> 446 ἀπροσδοκ[
ἀρεστός	‘pleasing’	<i>Ep.</i> 288; <i>Ep.</i> 746
ἄσιτος	‘unfed’	fr.179
ἄστικτος	‘unmortgaged’	fr.77.6
ἄσωτος	‘desperate’	fr.544.2 <sup>436</sup>
ἄτακτος	‘not in battle-order’	<i>Asp.</i> 29
αὐθαίρετος	‘self-chosen’	<i>Asp.</i> 288, fr.760.2, fr.197.2, fr.709.1
αὐθέκαστος	‘blunt, self-willed’	<i>Sam.</i> 550, fr.592; <i>Pk.</i> 397 <sup>437</sup>
αὐτόματος	‘self-willed; accident’	fr.598.2; <i>Dysk.</i> 545; <i>Ep.</i> 1108; <i>Sam.</i> 163; fr.211; fr.376.3; <i>Mis.</i> 979; <i>Pk.</i> 151; <i>Sam.</i> 55; fr.349.4
ἄφθιτος	‘immortal’	<i>Sam.</i> 736
ἀφόρητος	‘unendurable’	fr.441
ἀφύλακτος	‘unguarded’	<i>Col.</i> 117
ἀχάριστος	‘ungrateful’	fr.699.1, fr.701
ἄχρητος	‘needless’	fr.315.3 <sup>438</sup> , <i>P.Ant.</i> 55.11
ἀψόφητος	‘without knocking’	only as adv. ἀψοφητί <i>Col.</i> fr.6
βατός	‘accessible’	fr.598.3

<sup>434</sup> ]κοιτος; see Furley (2009) 45.

<sup>435</sup> I find no other attestation for this adjective; it is a correspondingly bold reconstruction of the text.

<sup>436</sup> Other possible attestations include *Ep.* 584 ἄσωτ[; Sandbach accents ἄσωτ[, but the division could as easily be ἄ σωτ[ or ἄς ωτ[. *Her.* 60 is not much better, but ἄσωτο[ seems to allow only one interpretation.

<sup>437</sup> Restored by Jensen from ἀ[.....]τωι, see ἀπονόητος)

<sup>438</sup> Originally part of fr.185 in the Athenaeus MSS, unjumbled by Porson.

Word-Formation

βιωτός	‘lived’	<i>Dysk.</i> 160 [late 5 <sup>th</sup> century+ - <i>S. OC.</i> 1692]
βροτός	‘mortal’	<i>Asp.</i> 412 (cit.) <sup>439</sup>
γαμετή	‘married (only of a woman)’	<i>Ep.</i> 953, 792, fr.815.1, <i>Pk.</i> 487, 489, <i>Sam.</i> 130, 131)
διάσειστος	‘shaken’	fr.319 (gloss)
διαστατός <sup>440</sup>	‘thrown into chaos’	fr.406; <i>Ep.</i> 166 (]τον Sudhaus, cf. s.v. ἀνάστατος)
δυνατός	‘able’	‘possible’ <i>Ep.</i> 907 ‘capable’ fr.218.3
δυσάρεστος	‘hard to please’	<i>Asp.</i> 432 (cit.)
δυσδιάθετος	‘hard to manage’	fr.22
δυσνουθέτητος	‘hard to correct’	<i>Georg.</i> 78
δυσπαρακολούθητος	‘hard to understand’	fr.380
δύσφευκτος	‘hard to avoid’	<i>Georg.</i> 12
δυσχρήστως	‘useless’	<i>Dysk.</i> 249
ἐμβρόντητος	‘witless’	<i>Pk.</i> 523, <i>Dysk.</i> 441
ἐνετός	‘inserted’ <sup>441</sup>	fr.537
ἐξαίρετος	‘choice’	<i>Theoph.</i> 1 [ἐξαι]ρέτω Körte ( ]ρετω)
ἐξίτητος	‘escapable’ <sup>442</sup>	<i>Mis.</i> 16 (rest. from ]τητον)
ἐπίθετος	‘additional, accidental’	fr.844.13
ἐπικλητος	‘invited, a guest’	<i>Dysk.</i> 608
εὐάντητος	‘having a good grotto’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.8
εὐγνώστος	‘well-known’	fr.296.6
εὐκαταφρόνητος	‘contemptible’	<i>Georg.</i> fr.1.1, <i>Sam.</i> 642, fr.639.1

<sup>439</sup> The only other fragment that used to be listed for this word was fr.932 Körte, now in editions as *TGrF adesp.* 507. All Menandrian examples of this word have thus been lost to tragedy.

<sup>440</sup> There is a lack of consensus on the accent of this word; here I follow LSJ, but K.-A. accent διάστατος.

<sup>441</sup> Thus LSJ, but the Menander fragment is in a gloss demanding a rather different reading.

<sup>442</sup> The sense given here for convenience is LSJ’s rendering. However the adjective’s restoration is certain because it forms part of a proverb: κυνὶ οὐκ ἐξίτητόν ἐστι ‘you would not let your dog outside’ (i.e. bad weather conditions). For the formation contrast *Diph.* fr.30.

Word-Formation

εὐκριτός	‘well judged’	<i>Ep.</i> 353
εὐκτός	‘prayed for’	<i>Georg.</i> 82
εὐλοιδόρητος	‘able to be reproached’	<i>Sik.</i> fr.2.1;
εὐπίστος	‘able to be trusted’	fr.286.1
ἔψητός	‘fish for boiling’	<i>Per.</i> fr.2
ζηλωτός	‘envied’	<i>Mis.</i> 135
θαυμαστός	‘admired’	<i>Ep.</i> 1083, <i>Sam.</i> 439, fr.362.2, fr.685.3
θνητός	‘mortal’	1) adj.: fr.685.1, fr.372.5 2) noun: <i>Asp.</i> 411 (cit.); fr.709.1 <sup>443</sup>
κρυπτός	‘hidden’	
λεπτός	‘light’	fr.305; <i>Dysk.</i> 924; <i>Ep.</i> 489; <i>Sik.</i> 184; fr.608.1; fr.266.2 (comp.)
λιθοκόλλητος	‘set with precious stones’	fr.275.1
λιτός	‘simple, frugal’	<i>Sam.</i> 379, <i>Sik.</i> fr.3.2, fr.748.2 (where see K.-A. on the spelling)
μεστός	‘full’	<i>Sik.</i> 150; fr.60.1; <i>Col.</i> fr.2.3; fr.341.2
μισθωτός	‘hireling’	<i>Dysk.</i> 331
περιβόητος	‘famous’	fr.296.3, <i>Pk.</i> 531, <i>Ep.</i> 665 <sup>444</sup>
πιστός	‘trusty’	<i>Ep.</i> 984, <i>P.Ant.</i> 55, 86; <i>Dysk.</i> 26, <i>Pk.</i> 187; fr.513.2
ποητός	‘done’	<i>Sam.</i> 346
πολυτίμητος	‘much-honoured’	<i>Zeus:</i> <i>Mis.</i> 284, <i>Pk.</i> 720 (πολυ[]), fr.249; fr.457.  <i>Gods:</i> <i>Asp.</i> 408 (πολυ[]), <i>Dysk.</i> 202, 381, 479; <i>Mis.</i> 165; <i>FabInc.</i> 56; fr.106.2 <sup>445</sup>
ῥητός	‘spoken’	<i>Pk.</i> 790
σκηπτός	‘thunderbolt’	<i>Asp.</i> 402, <i>Sam.</i> 556

<sup>443</sup> Fr.945 Körte (*sent.* 173) is also listed by Katsouris (2004) *s.v.*; K.-A. attribute it to Antiphanes (fr.282), on the authority of Stobaeus 3.21.4.

<sup>444</sup> For the sources of this line, see n.172.

<sup>445</sup> This fragment is unmetrical in the form it is quoted, and has therefore been the subject of much textual debate (see K.-A. for the details of the various suggestions).

στρεπτός	‘pliant’	<i>Ep.</i> 404
σύμμεικτος	‘mingled’	fr.409.16 (conj. Wilamowitz, Kaibel)
τορευτός, τορνευτός	‘turned’	fr.438 <sup>446</sup>
ὑποστατός	‘existent’	fr.296.13
χρηστός	‘good’	Sg. fr.20.2; fr.157.2; fr.262; Pl. fr.17.1; fr.157.2; fr.261.1; fr.283

Durham and Klaus include the adjective ἀχόρστατος; but this was rejected from the corpus as early as Kock.<sup>447</sup> The adjective ἄελπτος was restored by Sudhaus at *Pk.* 760, while Körte suggested ἄπιστον. Finally, Katsouris includes a form βλιτός, for which there seems to be no or little evidence.<sup>448</sup>

Among these forms are some taken from glosses, which give some interesting unusual forms (though it should be remembered that glosses tend to emphasise the unusual aspects of an author’s lexicon). Photius gives us two good examples. On the semantic side we have ἀδούλευτος which Menander used of a bridegroom; the usual sense according to LSJ was someone who had never been a slave. Cited for a morphological peculiarity, by contrast, is ἀνάριστος, which Photius comments should be ἀναρίστητος. The distinction Photius is making is between the verbal adjective proper, which from a denominative ἀναριστέω gives us ἀναρίστητος, and what we would call a *bahuvrīhi* compound ἀνάριστος ‘having no breakfast’. Similarly rare is the sense of the adjective ἄλωτός, which has the sense

<sup>446</sup> The entry at Athen. epit.11.781e does not make clear which form Menander wrote; the various suggestions are recorded by K.-A. *ad loc.*

<sup>447</sup> Durham (1913) 30, Klaus (1936) #138. One of the main motives for retaining this adjective was most likely its status as a late word, which one wanted to see in Menander.

<sup>448</sup> The word is attested in fr.596, a statement taken from Pliny that a word *blitum* was used by Menander (*NH* 20.252); cf. also Hesych. βλιτάς...καὶ βλιτῶνας; Philem. fr.185; Plaut. *Truc.* 854; and with reference to food Diph. fr.14; Plaut. *Cas.* 748; Körte/Thierfelder (1953) 254 (fr.832) mention Suid. βλιτάδας οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰς εὐτελεῖς γυναῖκας; this led Katsouris (2004) and LSJ to make the erroneous statement that the word βλιτάς is used by Menander himself. βλιτός is apparently not directly attested anywhere in Greek literature, however.

‘attainable’ elsewhere only at S. *OT.* 111; the verb has this sense at S. *OT.* 542 (but this is not attested so far in Menander).

This section has discussed the forms in *-τός* in their more usual function as adjectives. A number of them have been substantivised. Thus *ἄκρᾶτος* is exclusively used by Menander in the sense ‘unmixed wine’, attested since Ar. *Eq.* 105. Similar are also *ἐψητός* (‘boiled’ and transferred to ‘a thing for boiling’, i.e. a fish); *μισθωτός* (‘one who is paid, therefore a ‘hired worker’); and *σκηπτός* (‘thunderbolt’).

The form *ἀπαρηγόρητος* is of interest for Menander’s reception by Plutarch, since fr.792 may have influenced his choice of words at *Ant.* 6.3 (*ἔρωσ ἀπαρηγόρητος ἀρχῆς*). This verbal adjective is not attested in ‘good’ Attic.<sup>449</sup>

#### 2.1.8.2 *-μοσ*<sup>450</sup>

The Indo-European background of the adjectives in *-μοσ* has been debated. Arbenz thought of an inner-Greek origin as hypocoristic forms of compound personal names,<sup>451</sup> identifying elements in the root of the word with shapes reminiscent of ‘Caland’-formations, e.g. *κῦδιμος* ‘famous’ < *κῦδι-μοσ*, cf. compounds such as *κυδιῶνειρα* ‘giving fame to men’ and in personal names *Κυδιῶμαχος*, *Κυδιῶμένης*.<sup>452</sup> From these formations a suffix *-μοσ* was extracted and used to form adjectives, thus e.g. *λόγιμος* to *λόγος*. Arbenz used this derivational history to explain three features of these adjectives in the archaic period: the lack of a comparative; the lack of a feminine; and the rather non-

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<sup>449</sup> Durham (1913) 30.

<sup>450</sup> Cf. Arbenz (1933); Chantraine (1933) 151-157; Mayser (1937) 98-99.

<sup>451</sup> Arbenz (1933).

<sup>452</sup> This is not the place to examine the status of the Caland system; for what it means for Greek, see the treatment by Meissner (2006) 14-26, with discussion and references to earlier literature.

specific function of the suffix itself. Starting with Chantraine, however, there has been widespread scepticism about this explanation.<sup>453</sup> Already in the Homeric period, the adjective in –ιμος is often attested as –σιμος, e.g. αὔξιμος. Later, this –σ– can be explained in relation to the abstracts in –σις, e.g. χρήσιμος ‘valiant’ :: χρῆσις ‘use’, ὀνήσιμος ‘beneficial’ :: ὄνησις ‘benefit’,<sup>454</sup> and especially κρίσιμος ‘(a day) of crisis (of an illness)’ :: κρίσις ‘judgement; crisis, turning point of an illness’ (the semantics in this case are particularly compelling); however, the Homeric type in –σιμος may need a different explanation. Chantraine suggests deriving αὔξιμος from desiderative αὔξω given the absence of αὔξις<sup>455</sup> and φύξιμος from a compound φυξανορία (also with desiderative semantics). The case of μόρσιμος may be different, as a noun \*μορσις might be reconstructed on the basis of Lat. *mors*, Lith. *mirtis*.<sup>456</sup> At a later stage, the suffix becomes particularly useful for philosophical and technical writers, expressing aptitude or possibility.<sup>457</sup>

The following adjectives with this suffix are attested in Menander:

ἀγώγιμος	‘portable’	<i>Sik.</i> 138
βιώσιμος	‘able to live’	<i>Asp.</i> 450
γνώριμος	‘related; relative’	1) noun: <i>Asp.</i> 185 2) adjective: <i>Sam.</i> 267; <i>Ep.</i> 865; <i>Ph.</i> 103; <i>Sam</i> 473; comp. <i>Asp.</i> 144

<sup>453</sup> Against Arbenz: Chantraine (1933) 439; Meissner (2006) 26; less certain Schwyzer (1953) 495; Risch (1974) 105 n.90 gives references to discussions of the comparative evidence, the status of which is uncertain.

<sup>454</sup> Arbenz (1933) 36-37.

<sup>455</sup> Not in fact completely absent, but only attested as a gloss in Hesychius and a variant reading at Pl. *Phlb.* 42d; the attestations of αὔξις as the first member of *Verbalrektionskomposita* (αὔξις τροφός Orph. *H.*10.17, αὔξιφανής Manetho 5. 174 (IV A.D.), αὔξις φωτία Lydus *de mensibus* 4. 71 (VI A.D.)) are much later.

<sup>456</sup> This is Arbenz’ explanation (Arbenz (1933) 16), accepted doubtfully by Risch (1974) 105; *contra* Chantraine (1933) 154 who evokes metrical considerations. Frisk *s.v.* rejects the explanation for semantic reasons.

<sup>457</sup> Chantraine (1933) 155.

δικάσιμος	‘judicial’	fr.628
ελλόγιμος	‘of high repute’	fr.367
κρίσιμος	‘crucial’	fr.621
νόμιμος	‘customary’	<i>Cith.</i> fr.12.1; <i>Her.</i> 34; <i>Sam.</i> 399
τρόφιμος	‘young master’	(1) m.: see K.-A. (1998) 113 (2) f.: fr.101
φρόνιμος	‘sensible’	fr.317.1
χρήσιμος	‘useful’	<i>Dysk.</i> 320, 321, 728; fr.759; fr.838.3; <i>Asp.</i> 28; <i>Pk.</i> 483; fr.376.3; fr.804.3; <i>Dysk.</i> 561; fr.181.2; fr.752; fr.665.4

There is in addition a personal name, Μόνιμος, fr.193.1.

These examples show a particularly common use of the adjectives to designate special days; this is the sense, for example, of κρίσιμος (very frequent in Hippocrates in referring to the κρίσις, crucial point, of an illness) and δικάσιμος (first in Plato *Lg.* 958b, cf. also Philetaer. fr.12 for δικάσιμος μῆν). Note that Menander referred to δικάσιμοι ἡμέραι: the two-termination inflection, i.e. the absence of a marked feminine, was one of Arbenz’ arguments for his derivation. If the form τροφίμη did exist, it is more likely to show that this adjective acquired natural gender due to substantivisation, rather than that the two-termination inflection of these adjectives was really given up.

‘Ebenso vermissen wir vorderhand die Komparation’<sup>458</sup> comments Arbenz on these adjectives; it is striking therefore that we do in fact have a comparative form at *Asp.* 144. Obviously for Arbenz the development of the comparative is a significant innovation, as this indicates that the origins of this formation as he reconstructed it have been forgotten; the development of *Steigerungsformen* is equivalent to the grammaticalisation of the formation as an adjective proper.

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<sup>458</sup> Arbenz (1933) 13.

Something rather similar applied to the –ικός adjectives and their formation of adverbs (see p.126).

On the other hand, the extent to which these adjectives are used substantivally is striking. We have seen this already in the case of words for days above. Another example of this in Menander is τρόφιμος, used specifically for the young master of a slave (usually the son of the slave’s owner). Not that this is an especially innovative feature as such – Homer already has it at *Od.* 16.9 ἑταῖρος ἢ καὶ γνῶριμος ἄλλος. Similar is νόμιμος, usually used in the neuter plural ‘customs’ (cf. *S. Ant.* 455).

### 2.1.8.3 –αιος

The suffix –αιος originated from several different sources: some can be traced back to a prehistoric stage (σκαῖός ~ Lat. *scaevus*), others were adjectives in \*-iō- formed to *s*-stems in –ας. The suffix was then associated with *ā*-stems (ἀκμή » ἀκμαῖος, ἀλκή » ἀλκαῖος), including adverbial formations derived from *ā*-stems (μάτην » ματαῖος). It is unclear whether this dates to a period when the relevant noun was still in use or whether the adjective was formed directly to adverbs.<sup>459</sup>

At an early stage, however, particularly in Ionic, the suffix was extended to a wider range of stems, cf. ὁδαῖος « ὁδός, κραταιός « κράτος. This last example raises the problem of the accent. In general, forms with a heavy syllable before the suffix are properispomenon, while forms with a light syllable are proparoxytone; very few are oxytone, and this may be due to different derivational histories.<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> The latter is endorsed by Chantraine (1933) 48, Schwyzer (1959) 467. κρύφα » κρυφαῖος, cited by Schwyzer (1959) 467 might seem to exclude the former; but κρύφα could already have been an adverb when the others still have nominal paradigms. It can then have been reanalysed as an *ā*-stem formation and the adjective built to it.

<sup>460</sup> This would apply to κραταιός; Schwyzer (1959)

ἄβεβαιος	‘unreliable’	<i>Georg</i> fr.2.4, <i>Dysk.</i> 797,
Αἰγαῖος	‘Aegean’	<i>Pk.</i> 809, fr.64.7, fr.246.1 <sup>461</sup>
ἄκέραιος	‘pure, unmixed’	<i>Ep.</i> 910
ἀναγκάϊος	‘necessary; related’	fr.138.2, fr.187.3, fr.218.2, fr.298.3, fr.655.3, fr.801.2, fr.844.7, fr.876.1, <i>Dysk</i> 339, 740, <i>Ep.</i> 1104, 1105, <i>Mis.</i> 96, <i>Pk.</i> 139, <i>Sam.</i> 111
ἀνεμιάϊος	‘pointless’	fr.99
ἀρχαῖος	‘old’	<i>Asp.</i> 136
βέβαιος	‘reliable’	<i>Dysk.</i> 789, <i>Pk.</i> 144
γενναῖος	‘noble’	<i>Theoph.</i> fr.1. 12, 15; <i>Sic</i> 275  <i>Dysk.</i> 806, fr.856.2
γεραίος	‘old’	<i>Sik.</i> 169 <sup>462</sup>
δικαῖος	‘just’	<i>Asp.</i> 157, 168, 231; <i>Georg.</i> fr.1.2; <i>Dysk.</i> 293, 763; <i>Ep.</i> 218, 221, 233, 348, 352, 563; <i>Col.</i> 43; <i>Mis.</i> 567 (- ως/-οις), fr.7.3; <i>Sik.</i> 151, 257; fr.156.3, fr.717.3, fr.718, fr.720, fr.747.2, fr.772.2, fr.852.2, fr.853.3  <i>Georg.</i> 38, <i>Dysk.</i> 602, 644, 727, 775; <i>Ep.</i> 249, 470, <i>Con.</i> 13; <i>Sam.</i> 141, 389, 513, 552, 656, 702, fr.733.2, fr.508.1, fr.602.13
Δωδωναῖος	‘Dodonian’	fr.65.3
ἐπιπόλαιος	‘superficial’	<i>Ep.</i> 717
κεφάλαιος	‘principle’	<i>Georg.</i> 75, <i>Dysk.</i> 45, <i>Pk.</i> 363, fr.602.10
οὐραῖος	‘of the tail’	<i>Col.</i> fr.7.2
πραῖος	‘gentle’	<i>Dysk.</i> 779, <i>Cith.</i> fr.1.4, <i>Fl.</i> 41, fr.608.1
ῥαγδαῖος	‘furious, violent’	<i>Asp.</i> 403
σκαῖός	‘left’	<i>Ep.</i> 918, <i>Sam.</i> 428, fr.379.1

<sup>461</sup> This form is almost exclusively paratragic: see *E. Tro.* 88 (~*Pk.* 809), *E. Tro.* 1 (~fr.264.1).

<sup>462</sup> Katsouris (2004) *s.v.* lists γεράϊτερος, but this is an emendation by Naber from γέρων ἐρῶν. It is not an attractive proposal: the idea that an old man in love is pathetic in proportion to his age is less witty than the idea that all men in such circumstances are equally pathetic.

σπουδαῖος	‘urgent’	<i>Dysk.</i> 270, 824; <i>Sik.</i> 312, 318; fr.741.2
συμβόλαιος	‘contractual’	<i>Dysk.</i> 471; fr.577 (gloss)
τριταῖος	‘of three days’	<i>Georg.</i> 50
τροπαῖος	‘of victories’	<i>Mis.</i> 445 (τρ[ο]π[αῖε], suppl. Turner)
ώραῖος	‘timely’	<i>Col.fr.</i> 4, fr.163.2

As can be seen from these examples, the commonest kind of derivation in Menander remains that from feminine *ā*-stems. κεφάλαιος is always neuter in Menander (practically nominalised, ‘the main thing’); γεραιός (the one time it is used) and γύναιον (*Ep.*557, *Dysk.*568, *Mis.*562) are also nominalised.<sup>463</sup> On νησαῖος see n.420.

#### 2.1.9 Summary of nominal word-formation

What has been undertaken in this section is a description of the word-formation of an Attic writer. The aims were to describe what kinds of formations are attested in Menander; this was served by the bare lists. Comment on this data was textual and papyrological – this was felt particularly necessary, given that critical debate is still alive on the text of Menander – and linguistic, insofar as an initial attempt was made to situate the Menandrian situation in the history of Greek word-formation as a whole.

Our main conclusion is that older studies which used word-formation as a major criterion of koineisation are methodologically suspect. While it is true that certain types become productive in later periods, the function of these types is not always stable. We saw this most clearly in the case of –ῖσκος, which, though common in the Koiné, does not perform the same role at different stages of its productivity;

<sup>463</sup> For phonological and textual discussion of γεραιός see §3.1.2.2 below; γύναιον is not listed in the table, as its accent indicates that it is a fully grammaticalised noun and not a substantivised adjective; see Probert (2003) 92, 165-6.

something similar applies to nouns in  $-\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $-\sigma\iota\varsigma$ . A purely statistical method therefore should also be rejected, since this will not reveal subtle changes in the system of word suffixes caused by refunctionalisation of a particular set of derivatives.

This involved us in some new assessments of what this history was like – perhaps most obviously in discussion of the diminutive. It has given us new perspectives on the relevance of nominal word-formation to developments in the verbal system – both the nouns in  $-\sigma\iota\varsigma$  (losing their place in the verbal system) and the adjectives in  $-\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$  (developing a verbal function) were of importance here. In no case can the patterns according to which Menander coins words be said to have changed from the derivational patterns of classical Attic. However we noted that the nouns in  $-\sigma\iota\varsigma$  tended to be lexicalised, pointing towards the future decline of this suffix in favour of  $-\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , while  $-\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  seemed to be gaining productivity. If word-formation studies in Greek are to make progress, more detailed assessment of derivational processes at synchronic stages in the history of Greek is required.

It scarcely seems possible to relate word-formation to dialect allegiance. Although certain suffixes are claimed to be associated with Ionic, the basis for this claim is unclear (particularly in view of the generic affiliations of dialects in Greek literature). But the lists in the preceding chapter can nonetheless help us: they act as the material for the following sections on Menander's phonology and morphology. Evaluation of this material will prove rather more successful at illuminating Menander's relationship to contemporary koineisation processes.

### 3. The Phonology and Morphology of Menander

The previous chapter sought to show that word-formation allowed only certain limited claims about the dialect allegiance of Menander. This chapter moves on to what, *prima facie*, should be more promising territory, namely the phonology and morphology represented by the poet's text. They are treated as a single chapter because phonological and morphological questions are hard to separate (see in particular the two Excursuses). They act as a core, branching back to Chapter 2 (studying the components of word-formation in more depth), and forward to Chapter 4 (which looks at how morphology is instantiated in syntax).

#### Phonology

When a Greek author is preserved upon papyrus, the spelling of the document can tell us much about the phonological changes of the period when and the place where the document was composed, but is unlikely to provide reliable evidence about the phonological system used by the author of the work. As is the case for almost all classical writers, evidence for Menander's language comes from documents written much later than his own life; as a result, despite the range of sources available, we are just as badly placed for Menander's phonology as for that of any other writer.<sup>464</sup> Nonetheless, since we do know something of the changes occurring in the post-classical period, we can read Menander's text with an eye out for phenomena that might betray such changes.

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<sup>464</sup> Rosenstrauch (1964) 60 points out that we have no direct sources for Menander's own orthography ('ani papirusy, ani cytaty nie dają świadectwa, jak pisał Menander?'); we can nuance this by reflecting that written material of most kinds is likely to obey orthographical rules similar to those of inscriptions.

An investigation has to begin with the orthography of the documents, which Rosenstrauch has studied in detail.<sup>465</sup> Papyrological works also allow us to distinguish errors characteristic of the period in which a papyrus was written from errors which may reflect a different situation.<sup>466</sup> Most of our Menander manuscripts look like private copies; they may therefore be expected to preserve by chance readings reflecting earlier tradition. Scribes make errors, but they do not usually systematically modernise, allowing some hope that our texts will betray genuinely old forms. A distinction must nevertheless be made between the study of the orthography of our documents and the phonological interpretation that can be made on the basis of them.<sup>467</sup> Metrical evidence is of particular value here. Different sound changes may therefore be attested in quite distinct ways by our texts. At the end, a summary is given of the developments in vocalism and consonantism.

### 3.1 Vocalism

#### 3.1.1 History of diphthongs in post-classical Greek

On most views of fifth-century developments of the Attic vowel system, by the end of the fifth century the long vowels looked something like this:<sup>468</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> Rosenstrauch's (1964) 54-81. His chapter title, 'Fonetyka', conceals the real subject investigated, which is strictly speaking orthography; he seldom relates the evidence of Menander to the wider question of the sounds used at the time.

<sup>466</sup> Mayser/Schmoll (1970), Gignac (1977). Cf. Meister (1907) 233-5 for a comparandum from the *Seputagint*

<sup>467</sup> Meister (1907) 232-3 contrasts 'grammatical' (we might say 'phonological') and 'orthographical' differences.

<sup>468</sup> Szemerényi (1987) 1338-1356, building on Ruipérez (1956), who addresses both classical and post-classical developments. Note however that his analysis is based on Meisterhans (1900), and that Threatte (1980) represents considerable progress in our understanding of the Attic inscriptions.



monophthongisation from the fourth century B.C., and one analysis has dated the bulk of the sound change in Egypt from the mid-third to the early second centuries, with a new phoneme /ε/ established by 150 B.C.<sup>473</sup> The Egyptian papyri obviously reflect a different linguistic situation.<sup>474</sup> Furthermore, there are important methodological issues in evaluating this evidence. Teodorsson takes the earliest examples of spelling mistakes as evidence for a merger of two phonemes.<sup>475</sup> But even if this were itself incontrovertible, small numbers of examples cannot tell us about the distribution of a particular realisation of any one phoneme. An innovative pronunciation might, for example, be characteristic of a small, élite group, or of a lower-class, disadvantaged group. This will obviously affect our explanations for a given phonemic change. This is part of a more general problem about the relation of inscriptions to everyday speech. For some, the conservative features of inscriptional language are evidence for a conservative spoken register;<sup>476</sup> but it has also been demonstrated that inscriptions represent an autonomous register with its own phonological, morphological and syntactic features.<sup>477</sup>

It is by the reassessment of evidence like that offered by Menander that progress might be made, since he may be supposed to give us access to something approaching ordinary speech. This would represent evidence for the earliest stages

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<sup>473</sup> Earliest examples of the monophthong include the Timotheus papyrus *P.Berol.* 9875 (before 323 B.C.) for which see Hordern (2002) 67-8 (on the date), 172 (on *Persae* 79 παλεομίσημα). This form will enter our analysis again later. The date of 150 B.C. is by Teodorsson (1977) 223, 253-4; cf. Mayer (1970) 85-6.

<sup>474</sup> See Threatte (1982) 148-9.

<sup>475</sup> Teodorsson (1974) 46-8 on 'infrequent orthographic variants'. These are at any rate an improvement on the alleged wordplay adduced by Strunk (1959). One's acceptance or not of Teodorsson's arguments is a condition for other commitments; Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994) 318 n.26 appears too trusting, which leads him to contradictory statements (322) about the alleged geminate isogloss in Modern Greek. There is a nuanced presentation of Teodorsson's findings in Horrocks (2010) 163-5.

<sup>476</sup> Threatte (1982).

<sup>477</sup> Dover (1981), esp. 3-6.

of the development of the new vowel system, and might even help us solve some problems of relative chronology, depending on what evidence for monophthongisation we find.

Which sound changes are most likely to be detectable? Spelling mistakes associated with the gradual raising of front vowels cannot be dated in relation to the composition of Menander's texts, since our earliest papyrus texts already show this development, which is characteristic for the whole post-classical period; nevertheless, spelling conventions can help us in the presence of other evidence. Changes with metrical or prosodic consequences reflected in our texts are more reliable evidence; moreover metrical features can be detected even in cases where spelling has become standardised.

### 3.1.2 Orthography and phonology: the case of prevocalic diphthongs

The problem of interpreting orthographic evidence in terms of a phonological system is perhaps best addressed by the example of prevocalic diphthongs. The advantage of this is that we are confronting a problem with highly visible examples which nonetheless need careful interpretation.

Greek diphthongs ending in <ι> (closing palatal diphthongs), where they occur before vowels, are often spelled on papyri without the glide component, e.g. ποιῆσαι for ποιῆσαι. Manuscript variation in orthographical practice makes this a particular bugbear for editors.<sup>478</sup> Metrical considerations are often invoked in the solution of this issue, since the spellings without the glide are held to be metrically short, while the diphthongal spellings are measured long; this at least is

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<sup>478</sup> Thus *Sam.* 662 has ποῖει on the Cairensis but ποίει on the Bodmer papyrus; *Sam.* 678 πο[ι]εῖς Cairensis, ποεῖς Bodmer.

the reason behind most editorial decisions about the redistribution of these forms.<sup>479</sup>

The more pressing question however is what such spellings should be taken to represent. This feature is frequently characterised as a ‘loss’ of /i/ from a diphthong.<sup>480</sup> Most scholars avoid making any phonological claims about this change, although the orthographic data has been documented for inscriptions as well as the texts of comic papyri.<sup>481</sup> Most studies of the issue focus on /oi/, in particular ποιέω, but it has been observed that not all prevocalic diphthongs behave alike.<sup>482</sup> This insight is crucial for an explanation of these sequences in phonological, as opposed to purely orthographical, terms.

### 3.1.2.1 The orthography of prevocalic /oi/

The focus of the scholarly literature on /oi/ is related to the canonical example of the phenomenon, namely the verb ποιεῖν / ποεῖν; since the word is so common, it offers a good basis for analysis of the phenomenon. It is also a perfect illustration of the difficulty of using orthographic data, Rosenstrauch counted 102 / 123

<sup>479</sup> See Austin/Olson (2004) xcvi for the practice of the Ravennas in the text of Aristophanes, and Sachtschal (1908) 7-9 for Greek comedy in general. One may compare *Dysk.* 553, 590 and 765 in the editions of Lloyd-Jones (1960) and Sandbach (1990); Sandbach corrects the unmetrical πο- forms without a note (though he justifies the decision in his preface), while Lloyd-Jones, who in general sticks more closely to the papyrus than Sandbach, prints πο<ι>-. Sandbach prints ποεῖς at *Ep.* fr.3.1, because the syllable is short, while Körte (1957) 10 and Furley (2009) 79 keep ποιεῖς, the spelling of the manuscripts.

<sup>480</sup> Kretschmer (1894) 127 ‘vor α, ε, η, ι verlor der Diphthong αι sein ι’; Sjöberg (1938) 37 ‘Ausfall von ι’; Rosenstrauch (1967) 61 ‘na skutek utraty tego ι’, ‘due to loss of the ι’. Threatte (1980) 302-3 explains prevocalic <ε> for <ει> before vowel as a spelling error, but at 325 <o> for <οι> is said to be explained in the *same* terms as <ε> for <ει>, namely phonological loss of a glide. It is however doubtful that these *are* the same phenomenon (since <ει> represented [ε:]). Schwyzer (1959) 195 has a different view.

<sup>481</sup> Henry (1967) 258 is non-committal about whether his data are orthographic or phonological (and he seems to equivocate between the two); the data for prevocalic /oi/ are collected at 265-6, and that the inscriptions write <o> only before front vowels (<ε, η>); Arnott (2001a) focusses explicitly on the orthography of the papyri.

<sup>482</sup> This point was already made by Rosenstrauch (1967) 71, who does not however draw any conclusions from this about the interpretation of the phenomenon as a whole. Arnott (2001a) on orthographic variation in comedy does not compare the frequency of variation in the spelling of /oi/ with variation in /ai/. Sachtschal (1908) 8 does not distinguish between the shortening of diphthongs like <αι>, <οι> and digraphs like <ει>, <ου> (i.e. /ε:/, /ο:/).

examples in Menander, making a roughly fifty-fifty split of 225 examples;<sup>483</sup> Katsouris, on the other hand counts 100 examples of  $\pi\omicron\iota$ - to 173 of  $\pi\omicron$ -:<sup>484</sup> aside from the increase in material, differing editorial practices have skewed these counts. In either case, it is clear that  $\pi\omicron$ - does not always correspond to a light syllable, and  $\pi\omicron\iota$ - not always to a heavy one (see n.478 above). Metre can therefore not be invoked as a determining factor; nor does the spelling seem to be used consistently. Another lexeme for which a similar phenomenon can be observed is  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; it is frequently spelled  $\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , and shows metrical variation in the weight of its first syllable.

By contrast, the same sequence in other lexemes is never shortened. Adjectives in  $-\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , for example, always have the diphthong as a heavy or anceps syllable; they are also never spelled without the glide:

$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  *Asp.* 330 (long);  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  *Mis.* 624; *Sam.* 686; *Georg.* fr.4.1, *Mis.* 469, *Pk.* 325, 748, *Sam.* 71, 579, 654, *FI.* 53;  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  *Asp.* 348, *Dysk.* 35, *Ep.* 129, 915, 919, 957, 1088, 1116, *Col.* 108, *Sam.* 366, *Sik.* fr.6.1, fr.130.4, fr.224.1, fr.420.2;  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  fr.853.1 (anceps);

$\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  always scan long or anceps in Aristophanes and other comic authors.<sup>485</sup> – Menander: *Dysk.* 753, *Ep.* 392, *Sik.* 120, 378, *Dysk.* 146; fr.246.5; *Sam.* 513; *Sam.* 468, *Car.* 20; *Pk.* 814, *Sik.* 49; *Sam.* 501; *Sam.* 434 (bis); *Sam.* 452, 453; *Sam.* 466.<sup>486</sup>

<sup>483</sup> Rosenstrauch (1967) 61-64. Arnott (2001a) gives new figures for the whole of Greek New Comedy; Katsouris (2004) 517-521 divides the data into spellings with  $\pi\omicron\iota$ - and those with  $\pi\omicron$ -, but note that K.-A. and Sandbach do not always spell as Katsouris gives the form, Katsouris also counts some forms twice. The issue is complicated by editorial practice and the variation in manuscripts (see n.478 above).

<sup>484</sup> Katsouris (2004) *s.v.*

<sup>485</sup> There are very rare exceptions: Eubulus fr.67.5 (= fr.82.4); see further Fraenkel (1950) 579.

<sup>486</sup> This is also the practice of Middle Comedy, see Arnott (1996b) 304.

πλοῖον likewise – fr.246.5 (but πλοῖάρια fr.64.9 is anceps); for οἶομαι see the data on p.242 (no example of correption attested, only fr.325.2 is anceps).

What we can conclude from this is that generalising a ‘loss of yod between vowels’ on the basis of spelling variation does not account for the facts. We therefore need to take a slightly broader view to find out what, if anything, has actually changed in the late fourth century.

### 3.1.2.2 The orthography of prevocalic /ai/

Another indication that ‘loss of yod between vowels’ is not an accurate description can be gained from examining examples of /ai/. Rosenstrauch gives no instance where the second part of the diphthong /ai/ has dropped before a vowel;<sup>487</sup> at *Sik.* 169 ᾠ γέραιε the diphthong must be scanned as a light syllable, but the spelling on the papyrus retains the <ι>, as always in the case of adjectives in –αιος.<sup>488</sup> It should also be noted that the reading of the papyrus here has been disputed.<sup>489</sup> In tragedy, γέραιε tends to have ᾠ̃ (the exceptions are *A. Suppl.* 480, *S. OT.* 990, *E. HF.* 1358, *Phoen.* 1532, 1711); but this form of address is extremely rare in comedy.<sup>490</sup> It suffers correption twice in tragic dialogue (*E. HF.* 446, *S. OC.* 200), and is spelled γεραον (ᾗ̃) once on the Timotheus papyrus (*Persae* 214).<sup>491</sup> However, Arnott points out that the examples of the correption of /ai/ in this word occur only where the metre is not iambics, and, given that /ai/ is

<sup>487</sup> This is paralleled by the Hellenistic inscriptions, where omission of iota is the exception; see Henry (1967) 261-3.

<sup>488</sup> See §2.1.8.3. The examples of short /ai/ in Aristophanes, e.g. *Pax* 233, *Eccl.* 391, 1051, may be explained either as reflecting the prosody of ‘early adopters’ or as an allegro rendering of a common phrase.

<sup>489</sup> See Belardinelli (1994) 156-7.

<sup>490</sup> Dickey (1996) 82-3; it is not used at all in Aristophanes.

<sup>491</sup> For the tragic parallels, Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 650 (note that emendation has carried the day at *E.El.*497, see Denniston (1939) 110); for Timotheus, Hordern (2002) 239. It is not impossible that the spellings <α> and <ε> for <αι> before a vowel in fact represent results of the same sound change, see below.

generally heavy, he sees justification for deletion of  $\tilde{\omega}$ , removing the word from our examples of correption.<sup>492</sup>

This somewhat laboured account illustrates a curious fact: all examples of the correption of /ai/ in Menander are textually suspicious on independent grounds.<sup>493</sup>

At *Dysk.* 230, transmitted  $\piαιανίστας$  ‘paeon-singers’, if genuine, would have correption of /ai/; but the reading requires a split anapaest, and the presence of paeon singers in the play is of doubtful relevance. The form is thus emended by most to  $\Piανιστάς$ , ‘followers of Pan’. Intriguingly, the same metrical criterion – avoiding a split anapaest – points in the other direction at *Ep.* 348, where  $οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον$  must either scan with correption or introduce a split anapaest. Sudhaus therefore emended to  $οὐκέτι$ , which, bolstered by further arguments, is now accepted by the most recent editors of the play.<sup>494</sup> At *Dysk.* 568,  $γύναια$  must have a light second syllable as the text stands; but the lack of the article with  $ταῦτα$  is unusual, and the emendation to  $ταῦτα$  <τὰ> straightforward in the light of the potential for haplology.<sup>495</sup> In fr.672, the form  $ὠραίζετο$  has /ā/. According to Schwyzer, this is the product of quantitative metathesis:  $ὠραῖος$  » \* $ὠραι-ίζω$  > \* $ὠραῖζω$  >  $ὠραῖζω$ .<sup>496</sup> If this is correct, the form never had a diphthong in it, and the shortening of the long vowel before another vowel is perfectly natural. Eupolis

<sup>492</sup> Arnott (1997) 26-7, Arnott (2000) 246, revising Arnott (1996b) 695. Hordern (2002) 239 lists the lyric examples of correption in Euripides.

<sup>493</sup> I note in passing that  $ιερῆαν$  *Dysk.* 496 never had a diphthong in it at all; the short suffix in any case goes back to the fifth century, see Dodds (1960) 216 (on *E. Bacch.* 1114). For similar reasons (cf. *Ar. Pax* 145) the scansion of  $\Piειραιεύς$  is of limited relevance.

<sup>494</sup> Furley (2009) 51; Blanchard (2013) 89. Furley (2009) 157-8 adds his voice to Arnott’s persuasive arguments in favour of Sudhaus’ emendation; for the sense of  $οὐκέτι$  see Lloyd (1987). Arnott (1977) 16 explicitly comments on the implausibility of the correption in this case; the examples from Old Comedy and of the correption of /oi/ adduced by Körte (1953) 18 (apparatus on his 172) are not relevant. Ireland (2010) 146 retains the reading  $ἔστι$  but does not comment on it.

<sup>495</sup> Handley (1965) 232 refers to correption of ‘other words’ in  $-αιος, -αιον$ , but adduces no parallel; I find none in Menander. His claim at 66 that the lack of the article is ‘not indefensible’ is not supported by his argument *ad loc.*

<sup>496</sup> Schwyzer (1939) 265-6.

fr.393 ὠραζομένη καὶ θρυπτομένη is of doubtful relevance; Herodian adduces further verbs in -ῶζω, derived from stems in -αῖος with -ῶζω (e.g. ματᾶζω A. Ag. 995, S. OT. 891).<sup>497</sup> These forms are much harder to explain (σφαδᾶζω A. Pers. 194 is of unclear stem formation); apparently they were formed by contraction. But given the productivity of -ῶζω and the diachronic phonological instability of long diphthongs in Greek, these verbs must have been open to remodelling at every stage.

The case of /ai/ is complicated by the presence of forms in which the digraph alternates with a single long vowel; this might point to an earlier development in which some forms lost the second component of the diphthong with compensatory lengthening (since such vowels are not scanned light). Thus in Menander we find κλαίω (*Dysk.* 649, *Pk.* 758 are restored; *Asp.* 76,<sup>498</sup> 385, *Ep.* 487, *Ep.fr.*8, *Pk.* 174, 189, *Sam.* 73, 245, *Sik.* 151, fr.903.5 are metrically ambiguous; *Asp.* 227, *Dysk.* 674, *Mis.* 696, *Sam.* 406, fr.96, are metrically guaranteed to be heavy);<sup>499</sup> ἀποκναίεις *Mis.* 21 (heavy), *Asp.* 425 (anceps); κάετε (anceps *Asp.* 76, heavy at *Per.* 20); Menander only knows the form αἶ; the single example of αἶ ( *Dysk.* 904) should be emended.<sup>500</sup> This implies a development /ai/ > /a:/, on the face of it removing certain forms from the future trajectory of /ai/. This will concern us later on.

The form Πειραιᾶ is scanned with short /ai/ at *Ep.* 752; but this scansion seems to have developed at an early stage. More interesting are the difficult examples already in the fifth and early fourth centuries in which prevocalic /ai/ is spelled

<sup>497</sup> Wackernagel (1955) 589-90.

<sup>498</sup> κάειν Kassel *ap.* Austin (1960); but B's reading is κλαίειν, spelling the semivowel.

<sup>499</sup> Vessella (2008) 334-5 rightly draws attention to the non-occurrence of guaranteed κλαῶ and wonders if the spellings without <ι> reflect a later graphic practice, rather than Menander's own pronunciation. See also Arnott (2002) 199.

<sup>500</sup> Handley (1965) 289f.

<ε>. At S. *OT*. 1264 αἰώρα must have a light first syllable for the metre to work; that the realisation was [e] is suggested by the spelling of the form at S. *OC*. 1084, as well as by the statement of a later gloss.<sup>501</sup> The form παλεομίσημα in Timotheus *Persae* 79 has already been mentioned (n.473 above); that the papyrus attests both <ε> and <α> as the output of correption is suggestive. It raises the question of how we should understand examples of correption in other passages, for example in Middle Comedy.<sup>502</sup>

In passing, it should be noticed that the only other palatal diphthong, namely /ui/, has quite a different history, and raises a different problem for the text of Menander. All examples in Menander are spelled with the glide; and since they are confined to the feminine perfect active participle suffix, they are treated below under Morphology (p. 244ff.), although one of the cruxes of the discussion there will be whether phonological or morphological factors are more relevant in explaining the facts.

The data can therefore be summarised as follows. Variation in the syllable weight of /oi/ is the best attested example, although not every lexeme with the requisite input exemplifies the phenomenon. By contrast, the textual basis for the metrically short reading of /ai/ has come under considerable attack, and there are far fewer examples of the phenomenon than can be adduced for /oi/. In any case, as was already observed, the chronology of the changes affecting /oi/ and /ai/ is different. Different behaviour in prevocalic position is therefore what we would

<sup>501</sup> Chantraine (1999) 23. See Lloyd-Jones/Wilson (1990) 109, who emend to πλεκταῖσιν αἰώραισιν, against the form ἐώραις; but Aelius Dionysius α 59 (cf. Erbse (1950) 101) knew the line with ἐώραις. It is not certain that an α ~ ε alternation would have to be as late as West (1979) 108 claims, see Teodorsson (1974) 198. Note in particular the examples at Teodorsson (1974) 102, §43, in which <αι> has been written for prevocalic <ε>.

<sup>502</sup> For correption of /ai/ in Alexis, see Arnott (1996b) 695-6.

expect, and the two cases must be treated differently. The rest of this section will therefore concentrate on prevocalic /oi/.

### 3.1.2.3 Phonological interpretation

The standard interpretation holds that the orthographical change in the third century reflects a phonological change, namely loss of /i/ between vowels (see p.145). We can test this by comparing the quantity of prevocalic diphthongs in Aristophanes and Menander. Using ποιέω and τοιοῦτος as examples, we can examine the relative frequencies of long, short, and anceps scansion to assess the claim that a phonological change has taken place. If they differ in their practice, then the different orthography in Menander can be attributed to a phonological change; if they are the same, then the difference is only one of orthography.

In fact, the metrical practice of Menander and Aristophanes is nearly identical. The following table shows the percentages of examples of ποιέω and τοιοῦτος which scan long, short or anceps in Aristophanes and Menander:<sup>503</sup>

	ποιεῖν				τοιοῦτος			
Scansion	Aristophanes		Menander		Aristophanes		Menander	
Short	285	73%	190	71%	19	30%	44	62%
Long	74	19%	31	11%	16	25%	10	14%
Anceps	30	8%	48	18%	28	44%	17	24%
Totals	389		269		63		71	

<sup>503</sup> This is based on the complete plays of Aristophanes in Wilson's edition (OCT 2007). Supplemented examples of ποιεῖν in Menander were accepted at *Dysk.* 141, *Ep.* 427, *Pk.* 1015, where ποιεῖν is part of a recognised phrase καλῶς ποιεῖς, but the examples at *Col.* 116, *Dysk.* 454 and *Mis.* 575 were not. The spurious fr.1001 was not included (though there is an example of ποιήσας in line 4), but fr.902.16, fr.907.16 and fr.908.2 were included as probably Menandrian. Finally, an example from a corrupt passage (fr.246.7), where the verb may be a gloss, and one from a fragment too small to be metrically assured (fr.649), were also removed from the sample. No such adjustments were necessary for τοιοῦτος.

The figures for *ποιέω* suggest that Aristophanes was marginally more likely to perceive the diphthong as long than Menander; it is however striking that Menander is much more likely to perceive the diphthong in *τοιοῦτος* as short. Nevertheless, in broad terms it is difficult to separate the usage of Aristophanes and Menander.<sup>504</sup> From the similarity of the poets' practices, we can conclude that the correption of prevocalic diphthongs is not an innovation in the language of Menander. Rather, such correption had always been available to poets, and was probably rooted in colloquial language in both the fifth and the fourth centuries.

Nonetheless, our description of this change must account for the preservation of the long diphthong in some passages.<sup>505</sup> The most direct formulation is to posit a neutralisation of the syllabic weight of a diphthong before a vowel. This accounts for the anceps prosody of diphthongs in this position, as well as for the variation in orthography: a written sequence <οιο> or the like simply did not specify whether a metrical sequence <- u> or <u u> was intended. Essentially, this is the result of a strategy to eliminate word-internal hiatus, particularly in high frequency words (*τοιοῦτος*, *ποιέω*), by resyllabifying the glide component of the diphthong.<sup>506</sup> Since the same phenomenon is common in Aristophanes, this is not an innovation of Menander's language. It seems, from inscriptions and the

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<sup>504</sup> Overall percentages are as follows: Aristophanes: short 67%, long 20%, anceps 13%; Menander: short 69%, long 12%, anceps 19%. It is difficult to know what to make of Menander's preference for anceps position; this may reflect the greater flexibility of the Menandrian trimeter, or be a further sign that whatever the prosody of /oi/ was, it was not long.

<sup>505</sup> Willi (2003) 236-7 terms the long realisation a metrically conditioned archaism. This is possible, but it might be preferable to describe the phenomenon without having to resort to an explanation in terms of archaisms. We do not, after all, have access to a variety in which the diphthong is invariably long.

<sup>506</sup> Devine/Stephens (1994) 22.

papyrus evidence, that there had been a change of *orthography*, but this reflected a well-established phonological feature of Greek.

We might nonetheless ask how this change is best to be explained. Given the frequent appearance of an accent on the syllable following *ποι-* and the persistent accent of *τοιοῦτος*, there is a temptation to link the resyllabification of these sequences to the change from pitch-salient accent to stress-salient accent. But in fact the data do not support this: heavy syllable *ποι-* is evenly distributed between accented and unaccented variants. The theory is also refuted by the Aristophanic data, in which compounds ending <sup>o</sup>*ποιός* invariably have the heavy variant of –*ποι-* despite being persistently pretonic. In any case, the earliest examples of this phenomenon are far earlier; they go back to the sixth century.<sup>507</sup> The non-Attic vase inscriptions also show a preference for correption of this form (some of them even employing facultative digamma to indicate the rarer, long prosody).<sup>508</sup>

Nevertheless, positing a neutralisation of length distinctions in prevocalic diphthongs still does not account for the difference in behaviour between /ai/ and /oi/. Judging from our evidence, something quite different is going on in the case of /ai/. The next section will attempt to relate this to the start of the monophthongisation of /ai/ in post-classical Greek. To anticipate the discussion of the next section, we can account for the difference between /oi/ and /ai/, if /ai/ is in some sense no longer a diphthong.

### 3.1.3 Monophthongisation of /ai/

<sup>507</sup> Teodorsson (1974) 108 n.75, with tabulation of the examples known to him from the first inscriptions to 200 B.C.

<sup>508</sup> Wachter (2001) 237. A possible analogical basis for this spelling is the verb *καίω* (< \**kauiō*), particularly in light of the invariantly heavy initial syllable of this verb.

The preceding section has established two features of Menander's phonology: the preservation of [j] between vowels, despite orthographic indications to the contrary; and a broad asymmetry in the behaviour of /oi/ and /ai/ in prevocalic position. Presumably this must be linked to an asymmetry in the behaviour of these diphthongs in the phonological history of this period in general. In this section we will address this question, suggesting that the solution can be found in the chronology of the monophthongisation of /ai/.

As noted above, the chronology of this development is disputed. The insight that the Modern Greek realisation [ɛ] of the graphic sequence <αι> could not in fact be ancient goes back to Erasmus.<sup>509</sup> Nevertheless, there have been proponents of a fifth-century date for this development,<sup>510</sup> next to a more widely accepted view that the bulk of this change occurred later, in Attic at least.<sup>511</sup> There is good evidence that the monophthongisation happened relatively early in Attica's neighbour Boeotia;<sup>512</sup> and some have linked the Boeotian facts to the Koiné developments.<sup>513</sup> In a dialect with a conservative spelling system, tracing the monophthongisation is difficult. We must therefore look for evidence of /ai/ behaving more like a monophthong than a diphthong (namely elision), for evidence of homophony (discussed below in the context of crasis), and for the evidence of phonotactics (in which the question of prevocalic /ai/ will be reopened). Some comparative data will be also be adduced.

### 3.1.3.1 Evidence from elision

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<sup>509</sup> Allen (1974) 142-3.

<sup>510</sup> In recent times this has been defended by Teodorsson (1974); but see reviews by Ruijgh (1978), Szemerényi (1979), and Morpurgo Davies (1981) for doubts about Teodorsson's methodology.

<sup>511</sup> Threatte (1980) 165-167, terming the confusion of <η> and <ι> 'exceedingly rare in Attic inscriptions before ca. 150 A.D.'

<sup>512</sup> Teodorsson (1987) 200, Blümel (1982) 63-67.

<sup>513</sup> See §1.4.1 above for sceptical discussion of this approach to the Koiné.

In fifth-century Attic drama, hiatus is not permitted. Short vowels (except for –υ#) are therefore elided, while long vowels may in general not elide; in tragedy diphthongs are always treated equivalent to long vowels.<sup>514</sup> The distribution of vocalic word-end in classical prose has also been adduced as evidence that, in careful speech at least, word final diphthongs could not usually be elided.<sup>515</sup> By contrast, it seems that in comedy they could be.<sup>516</sup> This has generally been connected with an accentual property of word-final –αι, namely that, with the exception of the optative endings –οι and –αι, it patterns as a short vowel rather than a long vowel (‘prosodically’, rather than ‘metrically’, short).<sup>517</sup> Most grammars of Greek assume that it is this patterning which allows a final –αι to be elided.<sup>518</sup> However, the distribution of this elision as attested in comedy argues for a more complex state of affairs.

First, nominal and verbal final –αι, both of which are prosodically short, do not behave in the same way; the nominal ending never elides (likewise nominal –οι),

<sup>514</sup> This seems uncontroversial to an English-speaker, but note that the equivalence of diphthongs and long vowels is not a linguistic universal (see n.532). For the non-elision of diphthongs in tragedy see Davies (1991) 104 on *S. Tr.* 216. Jebb (1892) 36-7 claims this as the only case in tragedy where word final –αι is elided. This is accepted by Diggle (1974) 27, while Diggle (1984) 67 disposes of the examples in West (1982) 10 n.15. Lloyd-Jones/Wilson (OCT) print αἶρομαι οὐδ’ ἀπώσομαι with correction (attested elsewhere in tragic and comic lyrics). There is a nuanced discussion of the examples from tragedy by Hose (1994); he adduces interesting examples from prose inscriptions.

<sup>515</sup> Sommerstein (1973) 166 n.218 gives data from Demosthenes; however see p.159f. for Plato.

<sup>516</sup> Kühner/Blass (1890) 237-9 give a full account of the elision practices of archaic and classical poets in respect of the diphthong /ai/. They note the following examples in Aristophanes: *Pax.* 393; 906; *Thesm.* 916, 1178; *Nub.* 7, 43, 523, 550, 988 and add examples of crasis of –αι with a ‘Formwort’ *Lys.* 45, *Pax* 532, *Plut.* 876, *Thesm.* 248, *Ach.* 325, and *Thesm.* 916. It is telling that Kühner/Blass equivocate between interpretations of specific examples as crasis or hiatus; for similar doubts see Allen (1973) 228.

<sup>517</sup> For the accentual details, Probert (2003) 34; for the origin of this distribution, see Probert (2013) 174-177.

<sup>518</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 402-3, Kühner/Blass (1890) 237-9, West (1982) 10-11. Differently Allen (1973) 226, followed by Devine/Stephens (1994) who suggest that an intervocalic glide is lost, which is followed by elision. This seems doubtful given that word-internal intervocalic [j] must be preserved in forms like τοιοῦτος; it also would not explain why (e.g.) βούλομαι εἶναι could be realised both as [bu:lome:nai] and as [bu:lomaje:nai]. Finally, elision does not normally seem to be an iterative process, since forms ending in two vowels otherwise only lose one, not both (cf. e.g. *Il.*1.2).

while  $-\alpha\iota$  in verbal endings does. Note that ‘nominal’ in this case refers to nouns and adjectives, despite the fact that the accentual paradigms of nouns and adjectives display important differences in the distribution of their accent.<sup>519</sup> Since the verbal endings consist of a larger complex than only the  $-\alpha\iota$  ( $-\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $-\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  or the like), one might suppose that the nominal ending’s preservation was due to its greater functional load;<sup>520</sup> the function of  $\uparrow\tau\acute{\iota}\mu$ ’ is less obvious than that of  $\tau\mu\tilde{\alpha}\tau$ ’, especially since the subject of the verb will be available somehow from context. But as will be demonstrated below, the functionality of the ending cannot be a conditioning factor for this change. Here we may note that other nominal endings, e.g. the third declension ASg.  $-\tilde{\alpha}$ , do elide, while in the first two declensions, only the nominative plural would ever be a candidate for elision, since all other endings are either long vowels or have a final consonant. Thus, however we explain the distribution of cases of elision of  $-\alpha\iota$ , neither synchronic prosodic accounts, which overpredict elision, nor functional accounts, which do not account for the distribution of elision in nominal paradigms, are satisfactory.

Appealing to the prosodic value of word final  $-\alpha\iota$  also does not account for the diachronic dimension, which we will now examine. Aristophanes gives us 53 examples of an elision of  $-\alpha\iota$  in c. 15,000 lines of text.<sup>521</sup> A further complication in Aristophanes is the variety of metres he uses, since metrical types sometimes have different conventions (correction of prevocalic word-final diphthongs, for

<sup>519</sup> Probert (2006) 66.

<sup>520</sup> The rôle of functional load is critically discussed by King (1967).

<sup>521</sup> In the figures for Aristophanes, corrupt examples at *Nub.*523 and *Eccl.*495, both in lyric passages have been excluded, as has *Lys.* 396, where  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta$ ’ may as easily be interpreted  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$  as  $-\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . In three examples, *Lys.* 758, *Ran.* 118, and *Vesp.* 273, prodelision of a following vowel is a possible analysis, as opposed to elision of  $-\alpha\iota$  (see Kühner/Blass (1890) 242-3); these have therefore also been excluded. A further oddity is the elision of  $\sigma\omicron\iota$  at *Eq.* 1072, a unique example and not further discussed.

example, is standard for anapaests but forbidden in iambics); the data are thus first presented according to metrical type:

Aristophanes	
Anapaests	1 ( <i>Nub.</i> 988)
Hexameters	4
Iambic trimeter	31 (59%)
Iambic tetrameter catalectic	3
Lyric	5
Trochaic tetrameter catalectic	3

Even in view of the frequency of trimeters in Aristophanes' plays, it is clear that the elision of  $-\alpha\iota$  is a feature more common in this metre than any others. Menander's plays do not feature as much metrical variety as Aristophanes'; however his smaller corpus yields 138 examples of the elision of  $-\alpha\iota$ :<sup>522</sup>

Menander	
Iambic trimeter <sup>523</sup>	109 (79%)
Iambic tetrameter catalectic <sup>524</sup>	5 (4%)
Trochaic tetrameter catalectic	24 (17%)

Since this broadly corresponds to the frequency of the individual metres in Menander, the phenomenon is both more widespread and more evenly distributed

<sup>522</sup> Several further examples have been introduced by conjecture, see e.g. Maas (1913) for *Cith.* 46 (not generally accepted by editors); but examples not printed by Sandbach have not been included. *Ep.* 138 has been included, though some have restored an aorist here; so has *Ph.* 73, though an interpretation as an infinitive is not assured from context. At *Pk.* 293, 329, there is a lacuna at the very point of elision; but the metre requires u – in the following syllables, so elision is assured. The example introduced by Arnott (1996a) at *Mis.* 972 is not included (see Turner (1968) 52), nor are *Georg.* 13, *Pk.* 1010 and *Sam.* 694; the reading at *Ep.* 614 is too insecure to be counted here. At *Sam.* 308, the context for elision is in fact provided by another speaker's interruption. This is not uncommon in Menander (e.g. *Dysk.* 72, 102, 103, 129, [201], 326, 370, 410, 475, 512, 559, 844, 911) but the realisation of such sequences is impossible to determine, cf. Handley (1965) 43 n.2, Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 305.

<sup>523</sup> The metre of *Georg.* fr.6 is likely to be iambic trimeter, though the line does not survive complete; it is included in the statistics for iambic trimeter.

<sup>524</sup> All examples are from the *Dyskolos* (896, 902, 904, 911, 912).

than in Aristophanes. It is therefore probable that it reflects some genuine feature about the language, rather than being simply a metrically determined licence.

This is supported by an examination of the morphological categories that show the elision of word final *-ai*, where we observe some peculiar differences between the two poets:

Morphological category	Aristophanes	Menander
1sg fut mid ind	2	12
1sg pf mp ind		7
1sg pres mp ind	6	21
1sg pres mid subj	1	
2sg pf mp ind		1
2sg aor mid imptv	2	
2sg pf mid imptv	1	
3sg aor mid subj		3
3sg fut mid ind	5	16
3sg fut pass ind		1
3sg pf mp ind		8
3sg pres mp ind	3	3
3sg pres mp subj	1	2
3pl pres mid ind		3
aor act inf	4	
aor mid inf	1	5
fut mid inf	3	2
pf mp inf	1	
pres act inf	4	
pres mp inf	9	9

In Aristophanes, there is an almost equal split between infinitive and finite verbal endings (19 infinitives, 27 finite verbs, 59%: 41%), while Menander has many more examples of finite verbs with elided endings (16 infinitives, 123 finite verbs, 88%: 12%). In fact, from our fragments it would seem that Menander did not allow the elision of infinitives in  $-\nu\alpha\iota$  or  $-\sigma\alpha\iota$ .<sup>525</sup> Of the 22 examples in Aristophanes, however, seven (three aorist active, four present active) examples, or 36% of the infinitives, are precisely in this category. The relative rarity of the elision of  $-\alpha\iota$  in Aristophanes is even more striking given his much greater flexibility in possible kinds of crasis, an indication of his readiness to exploit metrical licences.<sup>526</sup> His unwillingness to allow elision of  $-\alpha\iota$  compared to Menander's toleration of this feature argues for some linguistic difference between the two writers.

That Aristophanes may have used this feature as a means of characterising speakers of a particular social status or gender is an attractive hypothesis, but there is no particularly good evidence in support of this. The feature is used by free men and women, free women, male slaves, gods, choruses and abstract personifications (intriguingly, but hardly significantly, not by female slaves in extant texts). Inlaw in *Thesmophoriazusae* has more elisions of  $-\alpha\iota$  on his own (*Thes.* 281, 292, 768, 1012) than genuine female speakers do (*Thesm* 916, *Eccl.* 912, *Pl.* 102); this *may* indicate that some different realisation of word final  $-\alpha\iota$

<sup>525</sup> For the role of this observation in textual questions see Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 490 and Körte (1957) 54 (*Pk.* 343); Handley (1965) 73 (*Dysk.* 895).

<sup>526</sup> Kühner/Blass (1890) 218-26; for unusual crasis and prodelision types cf. prodelision of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , *Lys.* 116, of  $\nu\acute{\omicron}\chi\acute{\iota}$ , *Lys.* 1171, of  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$  *Ach.* 325; crasis  $\mu\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\epsilon\iota$  *Eq.* 1092, 1090 (where note also the strange hiatus),  $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\nu$  *Eq.* 1177,  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  *Lys.* 945, 1172,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$   $\epsilon\iota\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  *Thes.* 482 (where Wilson accepts Lenting's conjecture). For further examples see Willi (2003) 238-9.

was typical of female speakers and that Inlaw's speech is being deliberately feminised.<sup>527</sup> But the numbers are too small to support a firm conclusion.

What is striking about the data is the lack of any apparent conditioning factor in Aristophanes, while Menander seems to avoid elision of  $-\alpha\iota$  in certain well-defined categories. This suggests that the practice in Aristophanes was a metrical licence, applicable to any given verbal form in  $-\alpha\iota$ ; by contrast, the distribution in Menander suggests a linguistic change favouring the elision of  $-\alpha\iota$  that has spread from category to category and not yet attacked certain classes of infinitive.

### 3.1.3.2 Comparative data

Other writers in the Hellenistic period complement the picture. Philodemus' texts are known scrupulously to avoid hiatus; this usually means that hiatus contexts are themselves avoided. It also means, however, that elision of word final  $-\alpha\iota$  is found. Philodemus philology is a work in progress and a complete collection of examples was impracticable; I have found examples however at *de piet.* 40.1152-3; 58.1672-3, *de mus.* 128.17, 33; 130.2, *de mort.* 17.7, 19.34, 32.11, 34.29.<sup>528</sup> Examples in prose can in fact be found as early as Plato, even though he was generally tolerant of hiatus (at least in his earlier works), cf. e.g. *Lys.* 212e, *Phlb.* 38b.<sup>529</sup> Inscriptional examples are also recorded, for example in the striking metrical line of *IG ii<sup>2</sup>* 834 (dated to the second half of the third century): τὰ δίκαι' ὅπως γένητ' ἐφρόντισεν. Henry already recognised the similarity of this line to

<sup>527</sup> Willi (2003) 173 argues for the inclusion of Inlaw's lines in a sample of 'female lines' in Aristophanes on methodological grounds. But even including Inlaw's lines, the elision of word-final  $-\alpha\iota$  fails Willi's statistical test, according to which 17.4% of examples must occur in female speech; only 14.6% of our elisions are spoken by women. We might nonetheless add it to his list of 'potential female features' (175-6, emphasis in original).

<sup>528</sup> See Obbink (1996) 73. Philodemus' practice was already noted by Kühner/Blass (1890) 238.

<sup>529</sup> For hiatus as a criterion of dating Plato's dialogues, cf. Blass (1887) 458-60, Brandwood (1990) 9, 153-166, and for bibliography on hiatus in Plato, Cherniss (1957) 344-5 and nn.

comedy, particularly in view of the elision of  $-\alpha\iota$ , and he takes it to be a literary ‘turn’ on the part of the (presumably well-educated) writer.<sup>530</sup> The inscription can also be taken as evidence that this kind of elision was not perceived as requiring particular licence.

Since prose writers in the generations before and after Menander were able to use word-final elision of  $-\alpha\iota$ , it cannot represent a mere metrical licence. Rather the existence of this feature across genres in the same approximate period, coupled with the increase in the phenomenon in a single genre diachronically, allows us to interpret it as evidence for some kind of phonological change in post-classical Greek.

### 3.1.3.3 Evidence from crasis

In Aristophanes and fifth-century tragedy, the crasis of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  into  $\kappa\epsilon\iota$  is frequent (x 8 in Aeschylus, x 29 Euripides, x 31 Sophocles). There is disagreement about the significance of the relative ordering of particle and conjunction, some authorities even claiming that there is none.<sup>531</sup> Certainly from a diachronic perspective a functional differentiation is difficult to uphold: the word order  $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\iota$ , and by extension the crasis  $\kappa\epsilon\iota$ , is not attested at all in Menander. By contrast,  $\kappa\alpha\upsilon \epsilon\iota$  (e.g. *Col.* 98) and  $\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\iota$  (e.g. *Dysk.* 733, fr.742) are used as in other authors. There is a single example of  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota$ , discussed in the Syntax chapter (p.328). Even on the supposition that some functional distinction had been lost (or non-existent), we might want to explain why the variant orderings of these particles are generalised asymmetrically.

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<sup>530</sup> Henry (1964) 245-8, citing examples from Attic drama of  $\phi\rho\nu\nu\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  at line end.

<sup>531</sup> For the distinction, see Kühner/Gerth (1904) 488-9; Denniston (1954) 299 follows this distinction but claims to have little confidence in it.

#### 3.1.3.4 The treatment of /ai/ before vowels

Having established the anomalous behaviour of word-final  $-\alpha$  in Menander we can reopen the question of its behaviour in pre-vocalic position. We have now seen that /ai/ fails to behave in Menander as we might expect based on classical Greek – the relatively frequent elision and the avoidance of the crasis  $\kappa\epsilon\iota$  have alerted us to this. Based on the contrast with /oi/, in that /ai/ very seldom seems to be realised as [ǎj] before a vowel, we can also say that /ai/ appears to behave differently to a diphthong.

In fact, we can relate this to the different histories of /oi/ and /ai/. As stated earlier, though both eventually become monophthongs in Modern Greek, realised as /i/ and /ε/ respectively, the merger of /oi/ with /i/ (via /y/) is much later than the merger of /ai/ with /ε/. The asymmetry in the behaviour of the diphthongs in Menander's time can be accounted for by appealing to the different stages of monophthongisation they are at: while /oi/ may not even have begun to monophthongise, the monophthongisation of /ai/ is likely to be underway.

Prevocalic /ai/, in fact, is represented by two different monophthongs in different texts: sometimes we find <ε>, sometimes <α>. Building on the treatment of /oi/ above, we can suggest a new answer to this question. If the quantity of diphthongs was neutralised before a vowel, we might suppose that the phonological diphthong was realised by different allophones depending on the word's metrical structure in a given utterance. In other words, two variants – one long, one short – could have arisen and been rephonologised as different vowels. This would account for different treatments of /ai/ in prevocalic position. The outcome /e/ would, on this view, represent a short positional variant of /ai/, while /a:/ would

represent the long variant.<sup>532</sup> This accounts for spellings like *κάω*, in which the <*α*> is long; it also accounts for relatively early examples (Timotheus, possibly Sophocles) of <*ε*> for <*αι*> before a vowel,<sup>533</sup> and explains why /*ai*/ does not seem to suffer an analogous correption to /*oi*/. This view also provides us with an hypothesis for the chronology of the monophthongisation; the first diphthongs to be monophthongised were those which were correpted before vowels. This monophthongisation then gradually spread to other contexts. Finally, this allows us to explain the chronological discrepancy in the monophthongisation of /*oi*/ and /*ai*/. An allegro rendering of /*ai*/ before a vowel may have led to the feature [front] being transferred from the glide to the /*a*/, followed by glide deletion; this is facilitated by a relatively crowded front axis in the vowel system, meaning that a fronted /*a*/ is easily rephonologised as a front vowel; but for /*oi*/, a fronting of the /*o*/ does not allow a merger with another Greek phoneme. If it was realised as [ø] or some other more central vowel, it was still unlikely to have been phonologised as anything other than /*o*/;<sup>534</sup> the greater distance between the two components of /*oi*/ may also have impeded monophthongisation.

### 3.1.3.5 Putting the pieces together

We must now ask ourselves if the account proposed above helps us understand Menander's practice.

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<sup>532</sup> An analogous process is attested in Icelandic and Faroese. In Icelandic, short diphthongs developed as a result of the shortening of diphthongised long vowels. Faroese saw the same development, but the short diphthongs were then monophthongised again. Faroese and Greek would share, in my view, the monophthongisation of short diphthongs, even if these short diphthongs developed differently historically. For more details see Árnason (2011) 25-6, 134-5.

<sup>533</sup> For further examples which this account might also be able to explain, see Wackernagel (1955) II.1027-33.

<sup>534</sup> Pace Teodorsson (1974) 204. I make no claims about Laconian, see Striano (1990).

What had happened to make the elision of –αι both more common and less likely to happen for infinitives ending in –ναι and –σαι? Incipient monophthongisation might make elision easier from the point of view of both production and comprehension. This would explain why there should be more examples, distributed across a wider range of finite categories in Menander.

The restriction in the case of the infinitives needs a separate explanation. Aristophanes' practice might be accounted for as follows. While βούλεσθ' could stand for βούλεσθε or βούλεσθαι, εἶν' could only stand for the infinitive. Elision of a diphthong is in itself phonetically implausible, but the licence would be less disturbing if the output was still unambiguous. Thus elision of –αι was allowed for infinitives in –ναι and –σαι. This still would not explain why such elisions were avoided by Menander. One might, for example, look for prosodic restrictions. It is possible that properispomena were preferentially not elided: in that case, elision of infinitives like εἶναι, στῆναι, σῶσαι etc. would be avoided by other means. There is a fairly large body of exceptions, however (15 properispomenon finite verbs elided in Menander and 11 in Aristophanes).<sup>535</sup>

Another possibility is that Menander avoided monosyllabic forms as elision outputs; but this also does not hold absolutely, cf. κεῖνται fr.252.2, οἶμαι fr.508.4. Both these suggestions might reflect tendencies, but would hardly have the status of rules.

A different tack is called for. The monophthongisation of /ai/ may have begun in personal endings; building on our analysis of prevocalic /ai/, we might propose two allomorphs of /ai/, [ai] and [ε], the latter being a prevocalic sandhi variant.

<sup>535</sup> Ar. *Eq.* 751, 1175, *Nub.* 42, 550, 780, 1357, *Pax* 480, 704, *Ran.* 692, 794, *Vesp.* 941; Men. *Dysk* 606, *Ep.* 311, 816, 899, fr.10.2, *Mis.* 573, *Pk.* 293, 311, *Sam.* 674 (bis), fr.252.2, 298.2, 448, 508.4, 606, 877.9, 601.2.

Verb endings with  $-\alpha\iota$  will therefore have been realised with [ε] in prevocalic position. The sound change spread first through the indicative forms of the verb,<sup>536</sup> and began to affect the infinitives category by category; infinitives in  $-\nu\alpha\iota$  and  $-\sigma\alpha\iota$  took longer to adapt to the change than those in  $-\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . This is hard to explain, but it might be because  $-\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  was more obviously related to the paradigm of the middle than infinitives in  $-\nu\alpha\iota$  and  $-\sigma\alpha\iota$  were to their paradigms.

As a proclitic,  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is likely to have been pronounced weakly; it is also likely to have been shortened, since it is an extremely common word. This accounts for the relatively early misspellings of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  as  $\kappa\eta$  or  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$  on inscriptions; the proclitic features of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  rendered it fallible to monophthongisation at an early stage. If that is so, it is possible that  $\kappa\epsilon\iota$  was avoided because it was hard to distinguish from  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ . This might be brought into connection with the existence of elided  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  in Modern Greek. Thumb took issue with the explanation of Hatzidakis, that the elision of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  was a specifically Doric feature.<sup>537</sup> Given a trend facilitating the elision of word-final  $-\alpha\iota$ , this feature may be explained without recourse to facts outside of Attic.

If this account is correct, there are interesting implications for relative chronology. It is not clear whether the monophthongisation was the result of the raising of front vowels, resulting in a space for [ε] filled by monophthongisation ('drag chain'), or whether the monophthongisation of [ai] forced the remaining vowels into higher positions ('push chain'). The raising of front vowels in this period will be discussed in more detail below. For now, the above account supposes that  $\kappa\epsilon\iota$

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<sup>536</sup> There is fifth-century inscriptional evidence for the prevocalic sandhi variant and for the endings of the indicative. If these are not simply errors, they may be ascribed to 'front runners' who began the change rather earlier than the majority of the population; see Teodorsson (1974) 101 for  $\langle\mu\alpha\langle\sigma\rangle\mu\epsilon\rangle$  (i.e.  $\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ ), 102 for  $\langle\chi\alpha\iota\rho\alpha\alpha\varsigma\rangle$  (i.e.  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ ).

<sup>537</sup> Thumb (1901) 82.

(approximately [kɛ:]) was avoided, because it could not be distinguished reliably from κᾰί (alternating [ka:] ~ [ke]). An objection to this is that the vowel in κᾰί was higher than the innovative vowel. But if front vowel raising had not yet begun when the new [ɛ] was created, this would result in a very crowded front axis, in which we might expect the distinctions between vowels to be less salient. The problem of the over-crowded front axis would then be solved by the subject of the next section: the raising of front vowels.

#### 3.1.4 Possible evidence for front vowel raising

The front axis vowels of ancient Greek (/i:/, /e:/, /ɛ:/) merged in /i/.<sup>538</sup> As a result, Modern Greek has a large number of spellings for [i]: <οι>, <υ>, <ι>, <ει> and <η>. This development cannot have taken place all at once. On logical grounds, the most obvious scenario is (a) merger of /i:/ and /e:/ into /i:/; (b) raising of /ɛ:/ to /e:/; (c) merger of /i:/ and /e:/ into /i:/. Most authorities date the merger of /i:/ and /e:/ around the third century B.C., some supposing that the process began already in the fourth,<sup>539</sup> some that it continued into the second.<sup>540</sup> This change might then be supposed to be going on precisely as Menander was writing. It is however unlikely to have left any particular traces, since the merger involves no prosodic changes, and spelling is in any case conservative. The papyri of Menander date from a period in which /e:/ and /i:/ had long merged; so their spellings will not help us. It is however the case of /ɛ:/, and more particularly that of /ɛ:i/, which is of more interest here, and which will be discussed in the first section.

##### 3.1.4.1 Shortening of long diphthongs (with an Excursus)

<sup>538</sup> Browning (1983) 25-26; Horrocks (2010) 162.

<sup>539</sup> Allen (1973) 66.

<sup>540</sup> Schwyzler (1959) 193.

To begin again with what we can directly observe, an orthographical change in this period is well documented on both papyri and inscriptions. Forms ending in classical Attic in  $-\eta$  are spelled with  $-\epsilon\iota$ . Rosenstrauch collected the examples on Menander papyri;<sup>541</sup> that the spelling is old, and not a feature of the transmission, is confirmed by epigraphic data.<sup>542</sup>

It is unclear exactly what kind of change this represents. In the classical period, the spelling  $\langle\epsilon\iota\rangle$  denoted a long closed front vowel / $\epsilon\text{:}$ /; this vowel was the product of (1) monophthongisation of / $ei$ / (e.g.  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$ ); (2) contraction of two / $e$ / vowels (e.g.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota$ ); (3) compensatory lengthening of / $e$ / following the loss of some consonant (e.g.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma < *ens$ ). The general assumption seems to be that, if an old spelling is altered such that it is identical with another spelling, both sounds must be the same; thus the spelling  $-\epsilon\iota$  from  $-\eta$  and ‘old’  $-\epsilon\iota$  would denote the same phoneme. This is however only one logical possibility. Consider the notation of the sound [ɣ] by English speakers; since this sound is not part of the English phoneme inventory, there is no obvious letter to denote it. The place names *Dagestan* and *Afghanistan* show two different solutions to the same problem; the digraph  $\langle gh \rangle$  is especially interesting, since it notoriously has no consistent realisation in English. In a similar way we should be open to the possibility that the new examples of  $\langle\epsilon\iota\rangle$  did not notate the same sound. How, for example, would a new diphthong [ei] (produced by shortening from [ $\epsilon\text{:}i$ ]) be notated? It is difficult to see how else other than  $\langle\epsilon\iota\rangle$ . A starting point for a new

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<sup>541</sup> Rosenstrauch (1967) 57-60. This is updated by Arnott (2001b), who provides extensive bibliographical references on this orthographical problem.

<sup>542</sup> Henry (1964) 240-245, who terms it a ‘phonological’ change.

[ei] diphthong might be found in spellings on inscriptions with an intrusive <ι> between vowels.<sup>543</sup>

#### 3.1.4.1.1 Excursus: <ει> for <οι>

Menander has several attestations of etymologically well-established /oi/ diphthongs spelled with <ει>:

δυεῖν<sup>544</sup> *Dysk.*327, fr.411.1

οἴκει fr.499

The textual basis for these forms is, as often, tricky to sort out. If we can trust our texts, the classical forms had not completely fallen out of use: δυοῖν *Her* 16, fr.200, fr.491; οἴκοι *Dysk* 618, *Mis.* 634, fr.82, fr.156.4.<sup>545</sup> How, then, should the innovative forms be explained?

One option is to consider these as front-runners for the later change of /oi/ to /i/. But this will not do, given the evidence mentioned above for the rounded avatars of /oi/ until a fairly late stage.<sup>546</sup> It has also been suggested that οἴκει is an archaism reflecting an Indo-European locative; this is implausible, given the solid and exclusive evidence for οἴκοι in earlier periods.<sup>547</sup>

The explanation of οἴκει as I.-E. inheritance might also be said to have the drawback of requiring a different theory for δυεῖν. However, the explanation suggested here also sees the two forms as independent developments, and since a phonological explanation can be ruled out on separate grounds, and both forms are so distant semantically, this is no drawback. We can explain οἴκει on the analogy of other locative adverbs in -ει, most obviously ἐκεῖ 'there'.<sup>548</sup> This also accounts for other forms such as Φαληρεῖ (with <-ε(ι)> for <-οι>).<sup>549</sup> In the case of δυεῖν, it seems preferable to invoke phonological factors, but not regular sound change. Rather the sequence [+high, -low,

<sup>543</sup> Henry (1967) 268.

<sup>544</sup> Also Philippides fr.9.5.

<sup>545</sup> Contrast Polybius, who exclusively uses δυεῖν, cases of δυοῖν being textually unsound, see de Foucault (1972) 66.

<sup>546</sup> Teodorsson (1978) 38-9 has one example apiece of <οι> for /e:/ and <ε> for /oi/, but does not (75) see this as evidence for a neutralisation.

<sup>547</sup> Hamp (1970).

<sup>548</sup> Already mooted by Hamp (1970) 105. It is possible that the form οἴκειος supported this analogy.

<sup>549</sup> Teodorsson (1974) 111, citing *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1553.24.

+round, +front][–high, +low, +round, –front][+high, –low, –round, +front] could be made much easier to realise by changing the second segment to [–high, –low, –round, +front], i.e. by assimilation of the feature [low] to the following segment. Note that this assimilation is blocked for the optative of verbs in –ύω, e.g. κωλύοι, by forms like κωλύει in the indicative.<sup>550</sup> A similar explanation would account for the form πεῖος, supposedly an Attic form of ποῖος, cited by Eustathius *ad Od.* 1907.51 (2.257.35) alongside οἶκει and δεῖν. Eustathius' source is a Heraclides, probably Heraclides of Miletus (1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.) who wrote on dialect problems.<sup>551</sup> Now, if it is correct that /oi/ merged first with /y/, then Heraclides is unlikely to have been describing his own realisation of /oi/, which must still have been a rounded sound distinct from /ɛ:/. Presumably, then, he had texts in which forms such as δεῖν, and therefore also πεῖος, appeared. πεῖος is not attested in any literary text, to my knowledge. There is a form σπειος on a third-century Cretan inscription (*SEG* 28 732.8);<sup>552</sup> since the expected form is (o)τειος (cf. Hesych. τεῖον· ποῖον. Κρήτες, ὅτιαι Tab. Gort. 5.1, ὅτιαι Tab. Gort. 4.52), this reflects accommodation to the Koine with regard to the consonantism, but dialect interference in the vocalism.<sup>553</sup>

The consequence of this view would be that δεῖν is a notation of precisely the kind of new /ei/ diphthong whose existence we explored above, while οἶκει, if analogical, would be a raised front vowel [e].

Now, even if this argument is accepted, and <ει> can sometimes denote a new diphthong /ei/, it does not automatically mean we can assume it in the case of <ει> for <η>.

We might therefore see the development in different terms by connecting it with a general reorganisation of vowels on the front axis due to vowel-raising. As /ɛ:/ (and thus /ɛ:i/) was raised, the diphthong merged not with the lower vowel

<sup>550</sup> We might however pose the question of whether this was a contributing factor to the optative's eventual loss from Greek.

<sup>551</sup> Cohn (1884) 5 on the ethnic and date, 9-20 on the sources for Heraclides' fragments, esp. 19-20 on these <ει> forms. Eustathius claims that Heraclides ascribed forms like πεῖοι to the Ἀττικοί, as opposed to ποῖοι, which is characteristic of τῆς ὑστερίας Ἀτθίδος; Cohn rightly points out that this cannot be right, and attributed the mistake to Eustathius, having shown that Eustathius did not always understand his sources very well.

<sup>552</sup> For the word-division of this inscription see Wilhelm (1974) 426.

<sup>553</sup> Bile (1988) 206.

(spelled <η>) but with the higher vowel /e:/. This would be caused by the palatal glide; the glide will have acted as a further pressure on the diphthong to merge with /e:/, the higher vowel.<sup>554</sup>

It is difficult, if not impossible, to prove which of these scenarios best reflects the vowel development of the period.

#### 3.1.4.2 Evidence from pseudo-Doric?

The speech of the pretended Doric doctor in the *Aspis* has been analysed by several scholars.<sup>555</sup> Deciding whether the text originally was consistently Doric, or whether false Doricisms are comic allusions to the spurious nature of this particular doctor, is a difficult problem.<sup>556</sup> It is therefore difficult evidence to use, and this section does no more than hint.

The form νόσαμα at *Asp.* 464 is usually described as ‘hyper-Doric’, since Doric here would have had <η>.<sup>557</sup> However, there is another possibility.<sup>558</sup> Assuming that front vowels in this period in Attic were gradually rising, it is possible that the grapheme <η> could no longer reliably be used to represent [ε:]. For an Attic speaker, Doric /e:/ will have then presented a mid vowel lower than he had in his own inventory. How then might a playwright indicate that the realisation he wanted was a low, ‘Doric’-sounding /e:/? The only low vowel left is written with <α>.

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<sup>554</sup> A parallel would be the Latin merger of \*/eᵢ/ and \*/i:/, since \*/eᵢ/ must have gone through a stage /e:/, avoiding merger with \*/e:/ > Lat. /e:/; see Meiser (1998) 58.

<sup>555</sup> Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 99-100; Imperio (1998) 68-72; for doctors in post-Aristophanic comedy see Imperio (1998) 63-75, Sanchis Llopis (2000).

<sup>556</sup> ‘È fuor di dubbio che il dorica doveva essere la caratterizzazione linguistica più comune del medico straniero’, Imperio (1998) 71; cf. Alexis fr.146.

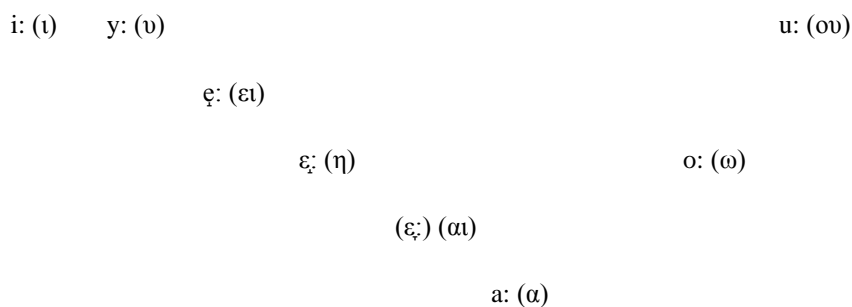
<sup>557</sup> Imperio (1998) 68.

<sup>558</sup> I owe this suggestion to Andreas Willi.

The example is no more than suggestive, but coupled with the spellings <ει> for <η> this might indicate a gradual raising of vowels on the front axis in this period.

### 3.1.5 An overall synchronic interpretation

After this survey of the changes being proposed for the late fourth century based on the language of Menander, we might attempt to round up what has happened in the system. Suppose that we are right to see the front axis rising (based on what limited evidence we have); in that case, this is a process already well under way while the new /e/ < /ai/ is still a short, prevocalic allophone. In that case, this allows us to interpret the shift as a drag chain: the phonologisation of /ai/ as /e/ is subsequent to the raising of the front vowels.<sup>559</sup> If the evidence for the rise in vowel height on the front axis is rejected, we might prefer to interpret the sequence of events as a push-chain: once /ai/ > /e/ gets underway and is gradually generalised, the other front vowels gradually have to be raised to make room for the new allophone. Whichever analysis we prefer, and the first has perhaps more to recommend it, Menander's vowel system looked like the classical Attic vowel system, with some modifications anticipating later Greek. The diagram below attempts to demonstrate it (using /ε̣:/ to indicate a higher degree of raising than /ε:/ did above, and including graphemes in brackets):



Menander's long vowel system (an approximation)

<sup>559</sup> E.g. Horrocks (2010) 161-2.

The vowel /a:/ is discussed in the second Excursus, §3.4.5.1.

## 3.2 Consonantism

### 3.2.1 Spirantisation of voiced stops in post-classical Greek

Ancient Greek had three series of stops: voiceless [p, t, k], voiced [b, d, g], and voiceless aspirated [p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>]; in Modern Greek, the voiced and voiceless aspirated stops have become spirants [β, δ, γ/j], and [f, θ, x] respectively.<sup>560</sup>

It is more difficult to trace the history of the stops in the post-classical period than that of the vowels, since in most cases the changes they underwent were not mergers. Thus even when [d, t<sup>h</sup>] were pronounced [δ, θ], since there was no separate grapheme available for the spirants, the spelling remained the same. Spellings such as ράυδος for ράβδος are difficult evidence: classical /au/ become [av] in post-classical Greek; but <β> had been used for a spirant at least in the interjection αἰβοῖ (presumably [aiwoi] or [aiβoi]) as early as Aristophanes (cf. *Ach.* 189, *Nub.* 102, 829, 906, *Vesp.* 37, *Pax* 15, 544, 1066, 1291, *Av.* 610, 1055, 1342) as well as in Menander (*Pk.* 392). Thus these spellings may reflect use of a grapheme with the best approximate phonetic value for [v] (or [β]), rather than indicating spirantisation of the consonantal phoneme itself.<sup>561</sup> Such changes therefore need to be dated using external evidence such as loanwords,<sup>562</sup> or logographic commentary,<sup>563</sup> rather than internal patterns or spelling mistakes.

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<sup>560</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 203-4.

<sup>561</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 198.

<sup>562</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 204 points out, for example, that the voiceless aspirates and voiceless stops are confused in Egyptian Greek orthography; since Egyptian distinguished [f] and [p], the confusion must have been between /p/ and /p<sup>h</sup>/ rather than /p/ and /f/, and hence <φ> was a stop. Technically this does not mean <θ> must have been a stop.

<sup>563</sup> Contrast later commentary on ἄβρα and αῶρα, which were hard to distinguish, e.g. Σ. E. *Hec.* 447, Choeroboscus, *Epimerismi in Psalmos* 174; Σ. Ar. *Nub.* 350 argues against the etymology of κένταυρος from ἄβρα.

Other changes do have consequences for spelling: the spirantisation of /g/ produced a glide [j] in intervocalic position, which results in overgeneralisation of <γ> to spell unetymological glides (see below). This will be our starting point, since this is a change which may be expected to have visible consequences.

### 3.2.1.1 Velar spirantisation

Since one of our Menander papyri is relatively early in date, it might be expected to give us particularly valuable evidence about Menander's language. The papyrus in question is P. Sorbonne 72+2272+2273, the *Sikyonios*, and dates from around 249-200 B.C.,<sup>564</sup> i.e. some forty to ninety years after Menander died. Because of their character as popular literature, rather than scholarly editions, the orthography of Menander papyri is seldom impeccable; in the case of this papyrus, 'sans être mauvaise, elle est loin d' être soignée'.<sup>565</sup> But here we discuss a mistake the writer made in a well-defined and consistent manner, allowing us to conclude that it reflects some phonological reality.<sup>566</sup>

The output of the spirantisation of /g/ is, unusually, a partial merger,<sup>567</sup> insofar as Greek had a phone [j];<sup>568</sup> consequently it may be possible to find spelling mistakes. The Sorbonne papyrus attests in several places a visible output for this development, at least in certain contexts:

<i>Sik.</i>	Papyrus reading	Normalised form

<sup>564</sup> Blanchard/Bataille (1964) 105-7.

<sup>565</sup> Blanchard/Bataille (1964) 108; note that their catalogue is not complete, and that some of their examples are now interpreted differently (πρόσθεε not for πρόσθεν, but an imperative, and not \*ἀληθέν for ἀληθέε but toponym Ἀλήθεν).

<sup>566</sup> *Prima facie* this will be the phonological reality of the papyrus' scribe, not of Menander, but see n.569 below.

<sup>567</sup> Alternatively one might see /g/ merging with /Ø/, but this theoretical point need not concern us.

<sup>568</sup> Cf. Helbing (1907) 21; Schwyzer (1959) 215; Thumb/Scherer (1959) 263; Mayser/Schmoll (1970) 156, §35.1(a).

122	ολιων	ὀλίγων
155	ολιωι	ὀλίγω
156	ολιαρχικος	ὀλιγαρχικός

Spellings like this are attested on Attic inscriptions between the late fourth and early second centuries B.C., in other words the inscriptions match the testimony of the Menander papyrus.<sup>569</sup> The Ptolemaic papyri, though they do not represent Attic evidence, show the change as well in the same period (but alongside a great many examples of the more conservative spelling ὀλίγος), as well as producing examples of <γ> used to write an epenthetic palatal glide, e.g. ιερευς for ἱερεύς.<sup>570</sup> In terms of vocal mechanics, the development can be explained by the tongue not moving back enough to form a velar stop between the front and the back vowels of a word like ὀλίγος; we should note *en passant* that all early examples of this phenomenon occur in exactly this context (/g/ between front vowel and back vowel). This is also corroborated by a fifth-century comic fragment:

ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἠττικίζεν, ὦ Μοῖραι φίλαι, ἀλλ' ὅποτε μὲν χρεῖη διητώμην λέγειν, ἔφασκε  
διητώμην, ὅποτε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι ὀλίγον, <ὀλίον> ἔλεγεν

'but he did not speak Attic – my dear Fates, no – rather whenever he was supposed to say [diɛ:jto:mɛ:n], he used to say [d<sup>l</sup>ɛ:jto:mɛ:n];<sup>571</sup> and whenever he ought to have said [oligon], he used to say [olijon]' (Plato Comicus, fr.183)

The restoration of the ὀλίον in the last line is certain, because Herodian is quoting the line for the stated purpose of demonstrating the mockery by Plato of 'the use of the word without gamma, as a barbarism (ὡς βάρβαρον)'. Herodian is

<sup>569</sup> Threatte (1980) 562-5.

<sup>570</sup> Mayser/Schmoll (1970) 142.

<sup>571</sup> See West (1982) 18 for further examples of this syllabification of δια-. Lines such as Ar. *Pax* 78 might be added, where reading διά as [dja], though unnecessary, at least does not impair the metre.

discussing the word ὀλίγος and in the same paragraph cites examples from the Doric poet Rhinthon, who apparently also wrote ὀλίος; Herodian explains this by analogy on forms like πλησίος and ἀντίος.<sup>572</sup> On Plato's evidence, the pronunciation was substandard in Attic; to judge from Herodian, it can also be characterised as *non-Attic*. In modern terms, then, the form can be considered de-Atticised. It is important confirmation that variants which develop in the stigmatised speech of some speakers can become the majority realisation: Greek thus conforms to the expectations we have of any historical language.

Another form relevant to this problem is the verb γίγνομαι 'become'.<sup>573</sup> The form γιγν- is found in classical Attic, but in later periods of the language the form used is γίνομαι. Since the change happens at different times in different dialects, the question we must ask is the chronology of the change relative to the language of Menander. If this can be answered, we might then raise the question of why this sound change struck when it did.

Menander is not the earliest Attic writer to use the form γίνομαι, but this is usually adduced as an example of how Attic changed as it entered the Koiné.<sup>574</sup> The quotations and the papyrus books are in complete agreement in this spelling. What is not usually pointed out is that the text of Menander still attests γιγν- as a recessive variant:

*Sik. 27 γίγνεται*<sup>575</sup>

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<sup>572</sup> But note other evidence for this change in Sicilian varieties collected by Poccetti (2012) 69.

<sup>573</sup> Arnott (2002) 195-6.

<sup>574</sup> See Pohle (1928) 11 for the orators and Aristophanes; Schwyzer (1939) 127.

<sup>575</sup> Rosenstrauch (1967) 76 comments that the reading is 'w miejscu niezbyt czytelny', 'in a not especially legible passage'; the second gamma is nonetheless abundantly clear. He also adduces (77) ἀναγιγνώσκοντι from Turner (1965) 73; Rosenstrauch admits that the form is restored (from

*Sam.* 212 ἐγίγν[ετο], 490 γίγνεται<sup>576</sup>

Once again, the testimony of the *Sikyonios* papyrus is of particular value, as it is of such an early date.<sup>577</sup>

In principle, both sources for the text of Menander may have modernised or altered their texts in either direction. Either the spellings with γίγν– are due to ‘learned revival’,<sup>578</sup> perhaps according to Atticist precept; or the majority spellings with γίγν– are due not to developments of Menander’s own period but to the pronunciation of the later copyists of his papyrus texts (in other words, γίγν– is to be restored everywhere).

Either of these explanations would account for the MS spellings. It is nonetheless difficult to understand why these examples should have been thought worthy of Atticistic spelling, or why a wholesale modernisation of Menander’s text should have been undertaken. The question is also complicated by the evidence of the other poets of Menander’s generation. Philemon, another writer of New Comedy, writes γίγν– everywhere, save in fr.126.3. This variation, once again, is unexpected. Menander and Philemon are preserved by exactly the same writers of the indirect tradition, so we cannot explain the difference by attributing it to the whims of quoting authorities. Contemporary inscriptions add a further dimension, since they regularly have γίγν– until 305/6, after which γίγν– begins to be

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ἀναγ[]), but neglects to mention that it forms part of the papyrus’ colophon, and thus has nothing to do with the language of Menander.

<sup>576</sup> C is not extant for these lines; the reading of B is unambiguous. Sommerstein (2013) 70, 82 silently corrects both readings.

<sup>577</sup> The testimony of the book fragments is unreliable, since they are likely to reflect the practice of the authorities quoting them. But note that some codices have γίγνώσκειν in fr.797; Meineke prints γίγνώσκων on the testimony of some manuscripts in fr.717.2, but other editors have not followed him.

<sup>578</sup> The Roman period saw just such a revival of the older spelling, at least on the inscriptions; see Thraette (1980) 562 – but note that this does not explain the *Sikyonios* papyrus.

generalised.<sup>579</sup> To state that inscriptions have conservative orthography does not solve the problem, since it is not known if literary texts were composed in the same orthography. If they were, and the spelling convention changed in Menander's lifetime, the question of what form Menander wrote (let alone what he pronounced) is sharpened.

The best way to deal with the conflicting data is to hypothesise a realisation of the second /g/ in the sequence γγν- as [γ]. This can be interpreted as spread of the feature [+continuant] from the following segment.<sup>580</sup> This and the intervocalic context described above are the starting point for what became the rephonologisation of /g/ as /γ/.<sup>581</sup> This phoneme /γ/ was realised by certain speakers, or maybe in allegro speech contexts, as [j], as [g] in other contexts. This account requires that an allophonic variation [g] ~ [γ] had already been present; this is what we get from the testimony of Plato Comicus quoted above.

The interpretation of <γγ> as a phoneme with various allophones is in direct conflict with the widespread view that the form γίνομαι is from γίγνομαι by assimilation to \*γίννομαι followed by simplification and compensatory lengthening.<sup>582</sup> The form γιννο[μ]ενον on an Attic vase inscription is too isolated to be considered evidence for this sound change, and is more likely to reflect one speaker's intuition about his language.<sup>583</sup> This argument is strengthened by the evidence presented here for a relatively early spirantization of /g/ in substandard Attic.

<sup>579</sup> Threatte (1980) 562.

<sup>580</sup> Compare the Pompeian wall spellings *Dafne* (Allen (1974) 21). One might also be tempted to relate Cretan forms such as ἀντρωπος to this phenomenon: if a spelling <θρ> indicated [θr], the dental aspirate stop may have been spelled with <τ>; this last point is uncertain, however see Bile (1988) 140-1 for the evidence for spirantisation in Cretan.

<sup>581</sup> Teodorsson (1977) 253 suggests this change occurred in Egyptian Koiné around 250-150 B.C..

<sup>582</sup> Threatte (1980) 562.

<sup>583</sup> Rosenkranz (1930) 48.

Late Attic therefore had begun to spirantise /g/ in certain positions. Many speakers of Attic will have been in contact with speakers of Ionic, or of highly Ionicised varieties of Attic. These varieties will have had γίνομαι and other Ionic forms as standard. This leads to more frequent realisations of the spirant [γ] as [Ø] as speakers of Attic accommodate to speakers of Ionicised Attic; some speakers will however still have had [γ] as standard. This diffusion of Ionic features from one Attic dialect to another is the starting point of the Koiné.

A parallel for this state of affairs can be found in Ripuarian German, where the following realisations of /g/ may be found:

Standard German	Ripuarian
<i>Gärtner</i> 'gardener' [ˈgɛʁtnɐ]	[ˈjɛ:tnə]
<i>Wagen</i> 'car' [ˈva:gŋ]	[ˈva:γə]
<i>richtig</i> 'right' [ˈʁiçtɪç]	[ˈʁiɛtɪɛ]

All of these forms can be heard from speakers of Cologne German. But all of them are also susceptible to hypercorrection; the last, especially, is sometimes realised as [riʃtik], with word-final /g/ realised as /k/, normally characteristic only of southern dialects.

### 3.2.2 Evidence for spirantisation of voiceless aspirate stops?

Our discussion has so far uncovered evidence for the spirantisation of /g/, while nothing pointed to /b/ being spirantised at this stage. When we come to the dental stops, we find an interesting variation in the orthographic representation of a voiced stop, namely the variation <δ> / <θ> in the masculine and neuter of the negative pronoun (οὐδείς, οὐδέν, μηδείς, μηδέν vs. οὐθείς, οὐθέν, μηθείς, μηθέν).

Aristotle is said to distinguish nominal οὐδέν from adjectival οὐθέν.<sup>584</sup> This does not seem to apply to Menander, compare οὐκ ἀκούσομ' οὐθέν (*Sam.* 521) with οὐθέν γένος γένους γὰρ οἶμαι διαφέρειν (*Sam.* 140), though it is perhaps not to be expected that manuscripts preserve this distinction very accurately. Indeed, the transmission tended to restore the forms in /d/.<sup>585</sup> For this reason, I have refrained from listing the data here, but I note that this tendency to restore /d/ makes the MS evidence for /d/ somewhat suspect.<sup>586</sup>

The interpretation of this form is very vexed. Phonological interpretations require a spirant realisation of both <θ> and <δ>, since even if /d/ was realised [ð] intervocalically, there would be no reason to spell it with <θ> unless /t<sup>h</sup>/ had already become [θ]. Although theoretically possible, this would put the spirantisation of /t<sup>h</sup>/ and /d/ rather in advance of the other stops.<sup>587</sup> In addition, it does not explain why other cases of intervocalic <δ>, even within the same family of words, is never spelled with <θ>; the case in point is οὐδέ. There are other asymmetries: Menander has μηθαμῶς but not οὐθαμῶς. Morphological explanations also fail to convince. Some trace οὐθείς to a syntagm οὔτε εἶς parallel to οὐδὲ εἶς > οὐδείς.<sup>588</sup> οὐδείς was later resegmented into the frequent οὐδὲ εἶς (presumably as a result of restrengthening à la Jespersen's cycle).<sup>589</sup> But

<sup>584</sup> Franke (1833) 11.

<sup>585</sup> Sommerstein (2013) 147-8; where both witnesses are extant, C always has <δ> for B's <θ> in *Samia*.

<sup>586</sup> Rosenstrauch (1967) 77-81 lists the examples from 'old' Menander, and *Dysk.*; for *Sik.*, see Kassel's index (1965); for *Asp.* and *Sam.*, Austin (1969) 64, Sommerstein (as n.585); for the comic papyri in general see Arnott (2002) 200-201. Arnott reports that Menander's preference seems to be /d/, but this may be a figment of the tradition.

<sup>587</sup> 'Nach keiner Seite beweist οὐθείς für οὐδείς' Schwyzer (1959) 207. However the form ἀχνηκότας is explained by Schwyzer (1959) 206 precisely on the basis that <χ> ~ [h] and <γ> ~ [j].

<sup>588</sup> As early as Matthiae (1825-7) §137.

<sup>589</sup> Rosenstrauch (1967) 77: 'To też prawdopodobnie stało się przyczyną stworzenia (lub powrotu do archaicznych) form w masc. οὐδὲ εἶς, w neutr. οὐδὲ ἔν'. Rosenstrauch rejects the explanation of Sachtshal (1908) 4, which does not take the epigraphic facts into account. However Sachtshal's explanation does not rely on metre, as Rosenstrauch claims, but points out that οὐδὲ εἶς can be

the lack of a form †οὔτεμία, and the unconvincing semantics,<sup>590</sup> must give us pause.

A better approach is that taken by Wackernagel, who sees the reintroduction of the hiatus as the precondition for the development of the aspirate.<sup>591</sup> The spelling <θ>, on this view, represents an attempt to write the output of /d+h/ (with, perhaps, automatic devoicing, since voiced aspirated stops arguably do not exist).<sup>592</sup> One attraction of this explanation is that the sequence οὐδ' εἶς does not occur; the reason for this is precisely that such a sequence has become οὔθεις. There are also cases in which /d/ is spelled <θ> before an aspirate which it touches due to elision, thus οὔθου on *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1607.24*.<sup>593</sup> Again, however there is a remainder: the forms μηθαμῶς and the like in which no resegmentation along the lines of οὐδὲ εἶς ever occurred.<sup>594</sup> This must be attributed to analogical spread of <θ>.<sup>595</sup> The fact that the negation in Modern Greek is δὲν (< οὐδέν) speaks for Wackernagel's explanation, insofar as a realisation [θ] of the spelling <θ> is thereby rendered less likely.<sup>596</sup>

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explained by analogy on the feminine οὔδε-μία; this is actually an elegant explanation, but fails to explain the forms with -θ-.

<sup>590</sup> Denniston (1954) 508-513 gives no indication that οὔτε may be used 'climactically' (contrast 196 on οὐδέ, but note Dover's scepticism about οὐδέ as an 'emphatic negative' in the *Addenda* to the second edition on 197-8); and the tenor of his discussion of the two particles tends in the opposite direction: οὔτε seems consistently to demand rather weaker force than οὐδέ. The same conclusion in Franke (1833) 11, who supports the reading of LRV at *S. Ant.* 522. Valley (1926) 39-41 adduces examples of confusion of οὔτε and οὐδέ from the Imperial period, including the NT, but this hardly establishes the same confusion for the fourth century B.C.

<sup>591</sup> Wackernagel (1928) 114, 268-70 = Langslow (2009) 542, 736-38; Moorhouse (1962) 245-6; Hiersche (1970) 178 'Schärfung von *d + h* zu *t + h*'.

<sup>592</sup> Compare desegmentalisation of /h/ in Korean; Hock (1991) 122 comments that this is a common process in languages with phonological aspiration.

<sup>593</sup> For οὐδ' οἱ, with Schwyzer (1959) 408, Threatte (1980) 475, scarcely οὔθ' οἱ (as *IG*).

<sup>594</sup> The form μηθαμῶς itself is not secure for Menander, but is Maas' correction ((1913) 365) for ΜΗΜΑΘΩΣ *Cith.* 47; surely an improvement over μῆμαθῶς.

<sup>595</sup> The form μηθαμοῦ occurs on a *defixio* (c.300 B.C.), see Threatte (1980) 476; this must likewise be analogical.

<sup>596</sup> See Thumb (1901) 14, but his discussion stays at an orthographic level.

The result of this discussion is that the spelling οὐθεῖς has no bearing on the chronology of the aspiration; it points weakly to a realisation [t<sup>h</sup>]. A handful of further forms, discussed individually in the following sections, also support the interpretation of <φ, θ, χ> as stops.

### 3.2.2.1 The adverb αὐ̃θις

The adverb αὐ̃θις is attested in different forms in various classical dialects. The Attic form is spelled with an aspirate, while in Ionic it is spelled with a plain voiceless stop.<sup>597</sup> In Menander, this latter form is found at *Dysk.* 962, *Ep.* 579, 691, *Sam.* 626,<sup>598</sup> but the aspirated form is also found *Ep.* 1110, *Theoph.* fr.1.2, *Sik.* 64.

In the later language, the most common form is αὐ̃θις (4,723 examples from the 3rd c. B.C. to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., TLG) across all genres; αὐ̃τις (244 examples in the same period) is only used in epic (Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus, Oppian, Sibylline Oracles), a genre that freely admitted Ionicisms, and in Ionic prose (Luc. *de dea syr.*).<sup>599</sup> This is therefore a form attesting contact between Ionic and Attic, and the penetration of Ionic forms into late Attic in the pre-koiné. But it is more likely that this was able to happen if the aspirate was still pronounced [t<sup>h</sup>].

### 3.2.2.2 θυθέν

The classical Attic form of this passive participle would be τυθέν (cf. A. *Cho.* 242); the form with a double aspirate found at *Sam.* 400 is not common, but is

<sup>597</sup> Buck (1955) 105, §133.6; see also Photius *Bibl.* 535a (τὸ μὲν αὐ̃τις Ἰωνικόν, τὸ δὲ αὐ̃θις Ἀττικόν), and further discussion in Arnott (2002) 194. The theory that αὐ̃θις is a contamination of Ionic αὐ̃τις and Attic αὐ̃θι is criticised by Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 286-7.

<sup>598</sup> The form is also a variant reading at *Sam.* 637 (not αὐ̃θις as Sommerstein (2013) 88 *in app.*). The two examples in *Epitrepontes* are spoken by different speakers.

<sup>599</sup> For the Ionic of Lucian, see Lightfoot (2003) 97-142, esp. 108 on αὐ̃τις. Even if Lucian is constructing a literary Ionic, he must be basing features like a different distribution of aspirated stops on something.

also found on an Ionic inscription.<sup>600</sup> It is tempting, therefore, to see this as an Ionic intruder in Menander's Attic; however, both variations in the application of Grassmann's Law, and hypercorrected Grassmann forms, are also found on Attic inscriptions (φαρθενε etc.).<sup>601</sup> The very fact of Grassmann-type alternations, however, shows that the voiceless aspirated stops were not yet pronounced as fricatives in this period.

### 3.2.2.3 πᾶνός, φᾶνός

This term for 'lamp' is attested twice in Menander (fr.59, fr.60) with different initial stops. The unaspirated stop is attested in Diphilus fr.6, and in a quotation of A.Ag. 284 in Photius (α 95); the Aeschylus MSS however, and Ar. *Lys.* 308, fr.361 have φανός. Athenaeus 15.700e terms the forms with the aspirate 'Ionic' (ἐν τῷ Ἴωνι). This is hardly reliable testimony, but it does explain our data: the Attic form πᾶνός would have been used originally by Aeschylus and writers of Attic comedy, but replaced in the later language by this Koiné form φᾶνός. The Aristophanic data either represent early adoption of the Ionic variant, or (more likely) analogy on the *Wortsippe* φαίνω, φαίνομαι etc. which must still have seemed related. The uncertainty in the Menander quotations may reflect synchronic variation between the two forms; it is certainly not, however, an indication of an incipient uncertainty about the value of <φ> following the beginning of spirantisation.

### 3.2.3 Aspiration

<sup>600</sup> θυθεισαν IG 12.7.241 (a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. Ionic inscription from Amorgos), noted by Austin (1970) 77. It may be relevant that island Ionic retained the aspiration, psilosis being a feature of mainland Ionic.

<sup>601</sup> Kühner/Blass (1890) 112, 277; Lupaş (1972) 107; Threatte (1980) 455-468 (e.g. ἀνεθεθε, but no example of θυθείς is adduced).

Several Greek dialects (termed ‘psilotic’) gave up aspiration at an early date. Attic, in the classical period at least, retained its aspiration,<sup>602</sup> but /h/ was eliminated in Greek at a later stage (and is now an allophone of /x/ from classical /k<sup>h</sup>/). The precise chronology of this development is hard to trace, since different kinds of document take very different approaches to the notation of aspiration. The notation of the aspirate in later periods is also affected by changes in the articulation of the aspirate stops; once they become fricatives, they cease to be good evidence for the presence or absence of an aspirate at word-juncture (synchronically at least).<sup>603</sup>

ἄβρα, ἄβρα – this word, a term for a favourite female slave, is attested three times in Menander (fr.63.3; fr.411.2; *Sik.* fr.1). The aspiration is a difficult issue, and different codices and grammatical sources vary in their practice. Eustathius records ἄβρα as a dialect form (ἑθνικῶς), contrasting with ἄβρα, which he has apparently read ‘in learned Greek books’;<sup>604</sup> but Photius and the Suda, who preserve a note on the word in almost identical wording, attest different aspiration.<sup>605</sup> Eustathius’ comments are too vague to allow us to interpret this variation in dialectological terms, nor do other authorities cite the word in discussions of the breathings, and in any case it is impossible to prove how old uncertainty about the aspiration of this word is.

### 3.2.4 The consonant clusters <pp> and <ττ>

#### 3.2.4.1 Introduction

<sup>602</sup> Kühner/Blass (1890) 112.

<sup>603</sup> Menander was taken to represent evidence for aspiration in antiquity; see fr.252 (quoted by Photius for the rough breathing of ἀμίς ‘chamber-pot’).

<sup>604</sup> Eusth. *in Od.* 1854.15 (2.188.36).

<sup>605</sup> Much of this information can be accessed conveniently in K.-A. (1998) 249 (apparatus to fr.411).

Various consonant groups are reflected differently in the Greek dialects. For the study of the Koiné, the most important examples are those which have different reflexes in Attic and Ionic, since the majority of pre-koiné accommodation phenomena takes place between these dialects. Two are of particular interest: the reflex of \*/rs/, and the reflex of velar and dental stops with \*/i̯/. The sequence \*/rs/ is preserved intact in Ionic dialects (and frequently elsewhere), while the group is assimilated in Attic to /rr/ <-ρρ->. The unvoiced velars \*/k/, \*/k<sup>h</sup>/ plus \*/i̯/ produced /tt/ in Attic, Boeotian, Cretan and Euboean, while other dialects have /ss/; some forms with /tt/ ~ /ss/ reflect \*/tj̯/ and \*/t<sup>h</sup>i̯/, but these are analogical on forms with velar clusters.<sup>606</sup> This dialectal distribution, as we will see, will give us the clue to the interpretation of the generalisation in the Koiné of the /ss/ variant.

#### 3.2.4.2 The standard spellings of Menander

In general, Menander uses the standard Attic spelling, preferring <ρρ> and <ττ> to <ρσ> and <σσ>. Several further observations must be added for full appreciation of the facts. First, the contexts in which the <ρσ> / <ρρ> variation can be observed are extremely limited. The verb θαρρέω (usually in the present imperative θάρρει) is the only word permitting us to test Menander's practice: ἄρρην 'male' is by contrast unattested.

Verbs with a present in -ττω are also found in Attic corresponding to verbs in -ζω elsewhere (e.g. σφάττω *Sam.* 608 for tragedy's σφάζω, ἀρμόττω fr.317 for ἀρμόζω). The possibility can be entertained that this feature in fact entered Attic from Ionic, since Parmenides has πλάττονται (B6.5 DK), corresponding to the

<sup>606</sup> Buck (1955) 69-71.

usual form πλάζω ‘wander’.<sup>607</sup> However that may be, the suffix –ττω becomes productive in Attic.

### 3.2.4.3 Other New Comedy

Looking at other New Comedy, we find that Diphilus, while he writes <pp> in most cases, also has the form εῦθαρσέστερον with <ρσ> (fr.110). The discrepancy is probably to be explained as due to lexicalisation: the compound, originally at home in poetic registers (first A. Ag. 930), was allowed to keep its more archaic shape.<sup>608</sup> Both Diphilus and Philemon exclusively write /tt/ on our evidence.

### 3.2.4.4 The exceptions

Menander, however, does have some instances of /ss/ in his text, all of which have worried editors and philologists at some juncture. They are as follows.<sup>609</sup>

*Sik.* 170 θούσ[σεις]

fr.602.3 πράσσω

fr.689.1 περισσός

The attribution of fr.689 is unclear; some MSS of Stobaeus attribute the lines to an Hermodotus or Hermolochus. Körte thought that περισσός could not be genuine (the expected form in –ττός is attested at fr.605.3, for example).<sup>610</sup> The fragment, if it occurred in Menander, must represent some kind of special language; it may, for example, be a quotation from tragedy, or come from a passage in which tragic style is approximated.

<sup>607</sup> The form is rejected by Passa (2009) 104-111 but for inconclusive reasons; see 110 for an analogical account of the forms in –ττω which double forms in –ζω rather than –σσω.

<sup>608</sup> I find poetry a more likely source than Ionic, see Wackernagel (1907) 15.

<sup>609</sup> The example εκπρίσσω at *Ep.* 258 (C) is a misspelling of ἐκπρίσσω (cf. *Thuc.* 7. 25).

<sup>610</sup> Körte (1958) 267.

This is also the explanation preferred for *πράσσω* in fr.602.3; Körte remarks that the ‘forma tragica consulto posita esse potest’.<sup>611</sup> The line is noticeably more ‘tragic’ in metre than those on either side of it, and we cannot exclude quotation from a tragic model. For the argument of this thesis, explaining the form as an Ionic interference phenomenon is clearly more attractive, but pushes the evidence perhaps rather too far given the otherwise fairly stable nature of this particular feature!

At *Sik.* 170 the text reads *μένω. τίνοϛ δὲ τοῦτο θωυσ[*, which has been restored as *θούσ[σειϛ χάριν;]*. The verb *θούσσω* ‘bark, call, bewail’ is almost exclusively in tragedy.<sup>612</sup> The exceptions are this single occurrence of the word in comedy, and a doubtful reading of an inscription (*IG* 12 (3).9) by Syme. Presumably, this should also be taken as an example in which *–σσ–* had been lexicalised; a variant in *–ττ–* is nowhere attested. It should be noted that the *Sikyonios* passage has numerous features of tragedy (the whole scene is based on the messenger speech in Euripides’ *Orestes*).

All available examples of /ss/ for /tt/ thus admit of some kind of special explanation, invoking either lexical factors or generic interaction. It is not excluded that dialect accommodation lies at the root of at least fr.602.3, but it cannot be proved either.

#### 3.2.4.5 Interpretation

From our perspective, both of these variants represent highly obvious, salient differences between Attic and Ionic. Furthermore, in both cases the Ionic variant (/ss/, /rs/) is generalised in the Koiné at the expense of the Attic variant (/tt/, /rr/);

<sup>611</sup> Körte (1958) 232.

<sup>612</sup> See Kassel (1965) 14 *ad loc.* for parallels.

in neither case does this appear to have happened by the time Menander composed his comedies. Our evidence also indicates that this did not happen overnight, and competed with lexicalised forms:<sup>613</sup> thus a personal name like Περσεύς retained its shape.<sup>614</sup> The form εὐθαρσής in Diphilus was discussed above; but Polybius has εὐθαρσής, θάρσος beside θαρρέω, θαρραλέος. Thus, although on the face of it Menander's text is aligned with Attic, rather than Koiné treatment of these geminates, the situation may be more complex.

The evidence is difficult even in earlier periods. For example, the imitation of an Ionic speaker by Aristophanes (*Pax* 47) has /tt/ (αἰνίττεται). If this isogloss really was a distinguishing feature, it seems impossible that Aristophanes would not make use of it, especially in so short a passage. Platnauer claimed on the basis of this passage that the sequences –σσ– / –ττ– were realised identically, an hypothesis which has not been generally adopted.<sup>615</sup> Despite the universal testimony of the manuscripts for –ττ–, the passage is generally emended.<sup>616</sup> Were one to take the MS evidence seriously, however, one would need to deal with the evidence of fragments of Old Comedy in which the isogloss *does* seem to be present, e.g. Ameipsias fr.17 K.-A. (λαγὸν ταραξίας πῖθι τὸν θαλάσσιον); that said, it is possible that Athenaeus (who quotes this fragment, 10.466d) has substituted the Koiné form for original Attic θαλάττιος (but this would also need to assume the substitution of Koiné λαγόν for Attic λαγών).

On the other hand, contemporary Attic inscriptions provide evidence for variation with regard to this feature. Only two inscriptions show the <ss> variant, namely

<sup>613</sup> In general, see Kühner / Blass (1890) 147, Schwyzer (1939) 284-5.

<sup>614</sup> Though ΠΙΕΠΕΥΣ is found on vase inscriptions, see Kretschmer (1894) 177.

<sup>615</sup> Platnauer (1964) 71, *contra* Colvin (1999) 266, Olson (1998) 77: 'Ar. seems unlikely to have committed so gross and unnecessary an error'.

<sup>616</sup> The recent edition by Wilson (2007) 285 also prints –σσ–.

*IG II<sup>2</sup> 179* (before 353 B.C. = *IG II.5 88d*) 6 διαλλασσοντας, 13 ησσηθηι, but fr.c. 10 τετταρας,<sup>617</sup> and *IG II<sup>2</sup> 236* (338/7 B.C., now *IG II/III<sup>3</sup> 1/i.318* = *SEG 47, 125*) κατα [θ]αλασ|[σαν] (with clear sigma at line end); but given the nature of this change we should perhaps not expect it to be any more common. Of particular interest is the variation in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 179*, since the conservative and innovative forms coexist on one stone. The evidence of these inscriptions might indicate that speakers of fourth-century Attic had already begun to adapt their speech to Ionic norms.

Another approach might appeal to the overall facts of Greek. The /t/ pronunciation was proper only to Attic, Boeotian, Cretan and Euboean, and was therefore characteristic of both restricted and isolated linguistic groups. Overall, the /ss/ realisation was more frequent in Greek; this is held to be the reason for the eventual generalisation of /ss/ in the Koiné output. If this is so, and if we are right to understand Menander's language as a pre-koiné, we should not expect this levelling to have taken place yet; rather, we should expect the conservative variant to remain, or for there to be variation.

We might also consider whether these spellings really represent a sound change at all. Attic speakers seem to have been able to pronounce such sequences, judging from tragic usage, and lexemes such as θύρσοϝ which never suffered assimilation. A better account might therefore see both spellings <ρσ> and <ρρ> as notating a sound such as [r̥], similar to voiceless (e.g. word-final) realisations of Czech <ř̥>.<sup>618</sup> The change is therefore orthographic, or perhaps only ever applied to

<sup>617</sup> See already Thumb (1901) 56, with references to these texts.

<sup>618</sup> The voicelessness of such sequences is suggested by loanwords such as *Tyrrheni* < Att. Τύρρηνοι, Ion. Τύρσηνοι.

certain common lexemes in which the sibilant component of the sound was lost (e.g. in the case of θάρρει).<sup>619</sup>

If this is correct, we may suppose that /rr/ represents an allegro pronunciation, while /rs/ was characteristic of slower, more refined speech.

### 3.3 Evidence for suprasegmental features?

#### 3.3.1 Accentuation<sup>620</sup>

There is no direct evidence for the accent Menander may have used, and even the texts we have are not consistently accented.<sup>621</sup> Since his texts are not consistently accented, and since any accentuation may easily reflect the spoken standard of the period in which the papyri were written, rather than the accentuation of Menander himself, such forms as are accented are difficult to interpret. It is also true, however, that the accents were being invented precisely in the period in which Menander lived; as a result, they record a variety perhaps not dissimilar to his own.<sup>622</sup> Information about ‘Attic’ accentuation going back to Hellenistic scholarship is more likely to represent the Attic of Menander (roughly speaking) rather than the Attic of (e.g.) Thucydides.<sup>623</sup> The preserved accents thus indicate at least the dialect allegiance assumed for his language by later scholars, even if they do not reflect Menander’s own pronunciation.

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<sup>619</sup> I find no parallel for the merger of /r/ and /r/; but in most Polish dialects /r/ <rz> has merged with /z/ <ż>.

<sup>620</sup> A study of inter-linear hiatus, which is more frequent in Menander than in classical verse, had to be curtailed through want of time. I am also unclear what it indicates, especially next to the much more flexible patterns of enjambement in Menander.

<sup>621</sup> On the accentuation of the papyri see Körte (1957) xii for Cairensis, Martin (1958) 10 for the Bodmer papyrus. The status of Σ.Thuc.1.30.1, which prescribes τρόπαιον for Menander (Kock fr.1177), is unclear (Körte-Thierfelder and *PCG* do not print the fragment). Rosenstrauch (1967) 55-7 discusses various editions and the Atticists’ views on accentuation, but does not examine the papyrus evidence.

<sup>622</sup> Scheller (1951) 8-11.

<sup>623</sup> Probert (2004) 277, 286.

In classical Attic, there was a group of proparoxytone adjectives which were properispomenon elsewhere: Hom. ἔτοιμος : Att. ἔτοιμος, Hom. ὁμοῖος: Att. ὅμοιος.<sup>624</sup> The authorities that inform us of this change also point out that Koiné Greek agreed with Homeric accentuation, not with the Attic pattern. This is consistent with the hypothesis that a key formative process in the making of the Koiné was that of de-Atticisation.<sup>625</sup> Do Menander papyri accent these forms, and if so, according to which pattern?

In fact there is a single relevant form, namely ἔτοιμος at *Dysk.307*, which is proparoxytone. Menander was therefore considered to use Attic, not Koiné accentuation; whether he in fact did cannot now be recovered.

## Morphology

The morphology of Menander corresponds, like his phonology, to that of ‘grammar-book’ Attic. This section will not therefore present systematic paradigms of every category. The emphasis will instead be placed on features which are known to vary in Attic and the Koiné; features which correspond to what we expect of later Greek; and unusual features in Menander which it might be possible to explain with reference to koineisation phenomena between Attic and Ionic. Since morphological variants are visible, unlike phonological variants, the data are more secure, even if their explanation is not more straightforward.

It is natural that morphology interacts with syntax, in particular with regard to the verb and to some extent with the pronoun. Some preliminary syntactic comment is therefore offered, but the bulk of the syntactic analysis is reserved for the next

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<sup>624</sup> The pattern was first described by Vendryes (1905-6).

<sup>625</sup> For an analysis of ancient scholarship on this change, see Probert (2004), esp. 281-8 and 291 for de-Atticised accentuation in the Koiné.

chapter. This section also offers further observations on some types of stem, particularly of stems with a high degree of synthesis with the ending.

### 3.4 Nominal paradigms

#### 3.4.1 Feminine nouns with nominative singular in $-\alpha$ and $-\eta$

Ancient Greek feminine nouns have nominative singulars in  $-\bar{\alpha}$  (which becomes  $-\eta$  by regular sound change in Attic-Ionic), and  $-\check{\alpha}$ . In general, and especially after the Attic-Ionic fronting of /a:/ obscures the relationship between the two types, they remain separate, a distinction broadly preserved in the modern language. However, there is also a small group of feminine nouns admitting two nominatives, one in  $-\check{\alpha}$ , another in  $-\eta$ ; this state of affairs may ultimately reflect an archaism, but the generalisation of one variant over another was discussed already in antiquity.<sup>626</sup> The following forms are attested in Menander:

νάρκα	‘paralysis’	fr.388
τόλμα	‘daring’	fr.177.1
θέρμα	‘heat’	<i>Georg.</i> 51

Phrynichus also remarks on the phenomenon, and adds  $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$  and  $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$  (which are not attested in Menander).<sup>627</sup> In the *Praeparatio Sophistica*, Phrynichus accepts the variation for some forms, notably  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\alpha$ , whilst considering  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$ , with Athenaeus’ *deipnosophist*, a solecism; in the *Eclogae*, he adds  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$ , saying that the  $-\alpha$  ending is found in Menander, in contrast with  $-\eta$  in Old Comedy, Thucydides and Plato.<sup>628</sup> The testimony of ancient grammarians

<sup>626</sup> Chantraine (1933) 102, §79; Athenaeus 7.314ab quotes fr.388 (from the *Phanion*) to illustrate Menander’s use of  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$ , ‘though none of the old writers uses it in this form’.

<sup>627</sup> Rutherford (1881) 414-415; for Phrynichus see Fischer (1974) 92 (*Ecl.* 304); Borries (1911) 114.20. For the modern reflexes, see Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994) 294-295.

<sup>628</sup> However, the MSS of Pl. *Thet.* 178c read  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$ , contrary to Phrynichus’ dictum.

needs to be carefully assessed. Is Phrynichus' description correct? If he is, we might suppose that the existence of short vowel forms in Menander is a post-classical innovation; if not, the criterion becomes irrelevant.

Our assessment of this might best begin with *θέρμα*. Rutherford, followed by Gomme / Sandbach, interpreted *θέρμα* as an *n*-stem (GSg. *θέρματος*).<sup>629</sup> This *n*-stem is supposed also to be attested in Ar. fr.346.2, reading the fragment as trimeter: *ὁ δ' ἔχων θέρμα καὶ / πῦρ ἦκε*. This is an unlikely arrangement, as line-final *καὶ* is rather rare in Aristophanes (but commoner in later comedy).<sup>630</sup> It is textually unsound, depending on a single MS (F) of Pollux 4. 186, as opposed to the two MSS (SA) with *θέρμαν*.<sup>631</sup> The *n*-stem is rather unlikely semantically, since an *n*-stem should be a noun of completed action ('heated thing' rather than 'heat'). Finally, the etymology speaks against a derivation in *\*-μη*, since derivatives with an *m*-enlargement to the root are found across a range of Indo-European languages, none of which show signs of original *n*-stem inflection.<sup>632</sup> As a result, it seems best to follow Kock, Deichgräber, and Kassel / Austin in reading *θέρμαν* (Bergk's *θέρμην* is unnecessary), scanning the fragment as anapaests, and using the fragment as evidence for the short vowel inflection of the noun in Old Comedy, *pace* Phrynichus.<sup>633</sup>

Neither of the other examples in Menander need cause us such trouble: the accusative singular *τόλμαν* can be nothing other than an *a*-stem; *νάρκα* is

<sup>629</sup> Rutherford (1881) 414, Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 114 on *Georg.* 51.

<sup>630</sup> I find only *Ach.* 143, *Av.* 1290 in dialogue of the extant plays.

<sup>631</sup> In Pollux's comment *θέρμα καὶ πῦρ* Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη the nouns should presumably be understood as being quoted.

<sup>632</sup> A selection of cognates: with the *o*-grade of the root Lat. *formus* 'oven', Skt. *gharma-*, OPruss. *gorme* 'heat'; with *e*-grade, as in Greek, Arm. *ǰerm* 'warm', Alb. *zjarm* 'heat'. Note that Latin, Armenian and Sanskrit would otherwise be expected to betray *n*-stem inflection. See Frisk (1960) s.v. *θερμός* with references and further etymologies.

<sup>633</sup> Kock (1880) 561 (fr.690); Deichgräber (1956) 21; K.-A. (1984) 196.

similarly unambiguous.<sup>634</sup> The type, therefore, is not a fourth-century innovation as such, but it does expand analogically in the history of Greek.<sup>635</sup>

### 3.4.2 θεός

The word θεός ‘god’ in Attic-Ionic was used from an early period for both gods and goddesses.<sup>636</sup> The feminine formation θεά is, in Homer, Aeolic,<sup>637</sup> next to Ionic θεή (in both Homer and Hesiod only DPl. θεῆσι).<sup>638</sup> In Attic inscriptions, ἡ θεός usually refers to Athena, while other goddesses are θεά, and usually mentioned in conjunction with a θεός.<sup>639</sup> In Menander, however, we find both the expected θεός and innovative θεά:

θεός: *Asp.* 98; *Sik.* 224; fr.566, 681.2

θεά: *Theoph.* fr.dub. 10; *Sam.* 400, 736; fr.163; fr.226

The existence of the two forms side by side is, however, probably not evidence for dialect mixture, since the examples may either be explained as reflexes of the Attic expression ‘gods and goddesses (θεαί)’<sup>640</sup> or as conveying specific literary effects.<sup>641</sup>

### 3.4.3 Contracted formations

<sup>634</sup> Maas thought of a semantic distinction between *νάρκη* ‘Tier, electric eel’ and *νάρκα* ‘Lähmung, numbness’, see Fowler (2010) 61; Ar. *Vesp* 713 is a counterexample if this distinction is supposed to be classical.

<sup>635</sup> Chantraine (1933) 100-103, especially 102 for the Menandrian examples; Schwyzer (1959) 476.

<sup>636</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 460;

<sup>637</sup> This, the *communis opinio*, has not gone unchallenged; see Bartonek/Buchner (1995) 194.

<sup>638</sup> Other cases are only found in later epic, see Schmitt (1970) 17.

<sup>639</sup> Threatte (1996) 18.

<sup>640</sup> Thus *Sam.* 399-400, in which *ταῖς θεαῖς* almost reads like an afterthought, triggered by *τοῖς θεοῖς* in the previous line; interesting analysis of the usage in Sommerstein (2013) 226-227.

<sup>641</sup> See K.-A. on fr.163.1, where parallels from earlier comedy and the verb form *ἄειδε* make an Homeric precedent certain. *Theoph.* fr.dub.10 is part of the song of the Possessed Girl, in which case it is less unusual to read a marked form; something similar must apply to fr.226, a prayer to Adrasteia-Nemesis (on whom see the references collected by K.-A.).

In Attic, contraction regularly took place in both nominal and verbal paradigms, resulting in formations which were synchronically isolated. These paradigms are candidates for variation in the language of Menander, since vowels did not contract in every Greek dialect.<sup>642</sup> Furthermore, the Koiné often replaced these synchronically irregular forms with alternatives.<sup>643</sup>

The contracted formations in Menander can be divided into three groups. First, there is a group of isolated masculine and neuter nominal formations of varying origins:

κανοῦν	‘basket’	<i>Pk.</i> 997 ( <i>bis</i> ), <i>Dysk.</i> 440, <i>Sam.</i> 222, <i>Ep.</i> 439
ὄστοῦν	‘bone’	<i>Sam.</i> 401
νοῦς	‘mind, sense’	very frequent

Of these, κανοῦν is opaque, though some connection with κάμνα ‘reed’ seems indicated; ὄστοῦν is certainly Indo-European, but different languages have different suffixal arrangements. Common to both lexemes is an assumed pre-form in *\*-ejon*, which for ὄστοῦν may be supported by Hitt. *hastai*; but why this sequence should have been contracted is mysterious. Finally νοῦς from *\*nomos* is a *nomen actionis* to be compared with λόγος; further comparison is elusive, though Frisk perhaps rejects Prellwitz’ derivation from νεύω a little hastily.<sup>644</sup> We have then an irregular class preserved precisely because of its synchronic irregularity.

<sup>642</sup> See the overview in Buck (1955) 36-43.

<sup>643</sup> Schwyzer (1959); Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976). Mayser (1938) 13 cites BGU 999 II 6 for the GSg. Εὔνουσος of the name Εὔνους, obviously written by someone who struggled with Greek declensions!

<sup>644</sup> Frisk (1960-70) s.vv. κάμνα, νόος, ὄστέον.

The next group are the adjectives of material, with suffix  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ , Attic  $-\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$ .<sup>645</sup> These contrast at most periods with formations which have slightly different semantics; compare the different senses in which the English adjectives *golden* and *gold* can be used ('golden hair' vs. 'gold watch-chain'). Diachronically, the adjectives of material with contracted inflections are relatively stable;<sup>646</sup> in Menander the following forms are attested:

πορφυροῦς	purple	<i>Ep.</i> 404, <i>Pk.</i> 820, fr.26.2, fr.94
σιδηροῦς	iron	<i>Ep.</i> 388
χρυσοῦς	gold	fr.246.4, fr.275, fr.726.2

The form ἀργυροῦς 'silver' is not attested (though ἄργυρος, the name of the substance, and more frequently ἀργύριον, a piece of the substance, are). the contracted formation is more frequent.<sup>647</sup>

The only enumerative compound is διπλοῦς (*Asp.* 521); this type remains stable diachronically and does not show variation with other stem types, presumably due to the influence of the simplex.

Lastly there is a group of forms in  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ,  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\tilde{\eta}$ .<sup>648</sup>

ἀδελφιδῆ <sup>649</sup>	'sister's daughter'	<i>Asp.</i> 523
θυγατριδοῦς	'daughter's son'	<i>Car.</i> 37; <i>Ep.</i> 1112, 1113
ὑἱδοῦς	'son's son'	<i>Sam.</i> 554

The compound suffix  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron-$  is attested only after Homer, and represents a combination of the diminutive value of  $-\acute{\iota}\delta-$  and the patronymic value of suffixes

<sup>645</sup> On the suffix, Chantraine (1933) 50; Schwyzer (1959) 468

<sup>646</sup> For the papyrus forms see Mayser (1938) 53-54.

<sup>647</sup> Bentley conjectured τὸ σιδήριον in fr.761.4, but this introduces an unnecessary metrical difficulty.

<sup>648</sup> Other diminutives were discussed at §2.1.1.

<sup>649</sup> Cf. Chantraine (1933) 363-4.

like *-ίδης*. The first two are both first attested in Herodotus (e.g. 1.65, 6.94; 5.67, 69) while the last occurs first in Plato (*Lg.* 925a6) and Xenophon (*An.* 5.6.37).

Menander's use of these forms reflects Attic dialect: *ὑῖδοῦς*, for example, is replaced in the Koiné by *υῖωνός*; elsewhere, uncontracted forms are used (for example *ὄστέον*<sup>650</sup>) or new thematic formations are back-formed from ambiguous case forms (e.g. *ὄστοῦ* » *ὄστόν*).<sup>651</sup> There is also no trace in Menander of the athematic inflection of monosyllabic contracted nouns (type *νοῦς*, *νοός*).<sup>652</sup> Menander's use of contracted formations thus fits better with his Attic background than with later developments.

#### 3.4.4 Long thematic dative plural forms

In Homeric Greek, case syncretism had led to the indifferent use of *-οις* (originally DPl.) and *-οισι* (originally LPl.) as DPl. endings of the *ο*-stems. These variants coexist for much of the fifth century, particularly in verse literature but also in epigraphic documents. The epigraphic data confirm that these forms are *echtsprachlich*: though the long endings are never more frequent than the short ones, they are solidly attested until 420 B.C. Since orthography always lags behind changes in the spoken language, we can assume that these endings persisted until about the middle of the century, at which point they became less frequent.<sup>653</sup>

Verse literature, however, continued to exploit these endings; Willi counts twice as many tokens of *-οις* as of *-οισι(ν)* in Aristophanes, terming the survival

<sup>650</sup> The form was used, for example, by Clement, who imported it at *Strom.* 7.6 into a (plausible yet) misremembered version of *Dysk.* 452 (*ὄστα τ' ἄβρωτα*); the reading *ὄτι ἔστ' ἄβρωτα* of the Bodmer papyrus and of Athen. 4.146f is indubitably correct.

<sup>651</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 562.

<sup>652</sup> Nouns of this shape were remodelled in the Koiné on the analogy of *βοῦς*; see Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 41. Such forms appear on Attic inscriptions only in the Roman period, see Thraette (1996) 38, but athematic forms of *χοῦς* (GSg. *χοός* etc.) already appear in Ptolemaic papyri, see Mayser (1938) 27.

<sup>653</sup> Lazzeroni (1984) 19-23; Thraette (1996) 25-32.

of -οισι ‘a revealing sign of morphological conservatism’.<sup>654</sup> In addition, it corresponds to what one might expect from a genre that was in such close contact with classical tragedy as Aristophanic comedy. Tragedy retained several archaisms befitting its rather grander style; Aristophanes was then able to exploit similar archaisms in his own versification.<sup>655</sup> The idea that a stage language might operate as a separate register is attested elsewhere in literature on linguistic variety; German *Bühnenaussprache* is maybe the best studied example.<sup>656</sup> Note that *Bühnenaussprache* is distinct from the literary language of an individual genre. This is then the character of the language that we may suppose was common to Aristophanes and tragic poets in the fifth century in Athens.

Prose literature from the same period, indeed from somewhat later, complicates this picture of the ‘loss’ of the long dative plural aside from a ‘stage variety’.<sup>657</sup> The dialogues of Plato attest to some kind of preservation (or revitalisation?) of the long dative plural in the early fourth century. Dodds comments that ‘long datives occur occasionally in the MSS of Plato from the *Republic* onwards, but in his earlier work he seems to avoid them’.<sup>658</sup> A philologist is therefore rather at the mercy of his editors; many more examples may be hiding in Plato manuscripts, but only those recorded in texts or critical apparatuses can be evaluated here.<sup>659</sup> The following figures serve, therefore, as a rough guide to Plato’s usage:

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<sup>654</sup> Willi (2003) 241, and see Willi’s appendix (232-269) for the conservatism of Aristophanes’ Attic more generally.

<sup>655</sup> This is a separate claim from the observation that Aristophanes’ uses tragic diction for explicit comic effect; this cannot be used to explain every instance of a long dative plural.

<sup>656</sup> See Siegel (1985) 359 for bibliography.

<sup>657</sup> Körte (1908) 56 claimed that Plato differed from dramatic literature precisely in this regard; but he retracted this view, (1911) 246.

<sup>658</sup> Dodds (1959) 277 on *Gorg.* 486a1-3.

<sup>659</sup> As an illustration of the difficulties involved, Brandwood (1990) 60 (in Table 10.4) reports the following figures of Ritter, which he did not check, for the Ionic dative plural: *Phdr.* 3, *Resp.* 6, *Pol.* 4, *Tim.* 2, *Leg.* 85. The discrepancy is to be explained in differences between different

Dialogue	–οισι tokens	St. pages	%
<i>Phd.</i>	1	61	1.6
<i>Pol.</i>	4	54	7.4
<i>Phdr.</i>	1	52	1.9
<i>Ion</i>	1	12	8.3
<i>Resp.</i>	7	294	2.4
<i>Tim.</i>	1	74	1.3
<i>Lg.</i>	70	345	20.5

Without even counting the figures, it is fairly clear that the long endings are dwarfed by the tokens of short endings. Plato's language thus seems to be more advanced than Aristophanes' in this respect. The reality of this receives additional confirmation from Demosthenes. Though his prose is of a rather more formal style than Plato's, there is not a single example of a dative plural in –οισι, which indicates that the longer suffix has fallen into disuse. Aristotle and the Ptolemaic papyri confirm this interpretation.

Nevertheless, Plato's *Laws* might make us rethink the process of attrition these forms came under. Even allowing for the dialogue's length, the number of tokens of –οισι it accounts for is disproportionate. This distribution cannot be explained in terms of a straightforward loss of the ending, particularly since the *Laws* is supposed to be Plato's last work. Two of the dialogue's speakers use the ending, the Athenian (who has the most to say by a considerable margin) and the Cretan; thus the ending does not seem to characterise a particular idiolect. It is unlikely that this feature was changed deliberately at a later stage of the dialogue's transmission; while there are no guides or restraints like metrical structure that would allow us reliably to judge which ending was used in a particular case, an unmotivated change in a selection of case endings in a single Plato dialogue still

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editions. I have not systematically searched the apparatuses to Plato, but have recorded those I have noticed.

seems an unlikely hypothesis.<sup>660</sup> Furthermore, ascribing the long endings to scribal interference does not account for the strangely uneven distribution of long datives in the dialogue. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

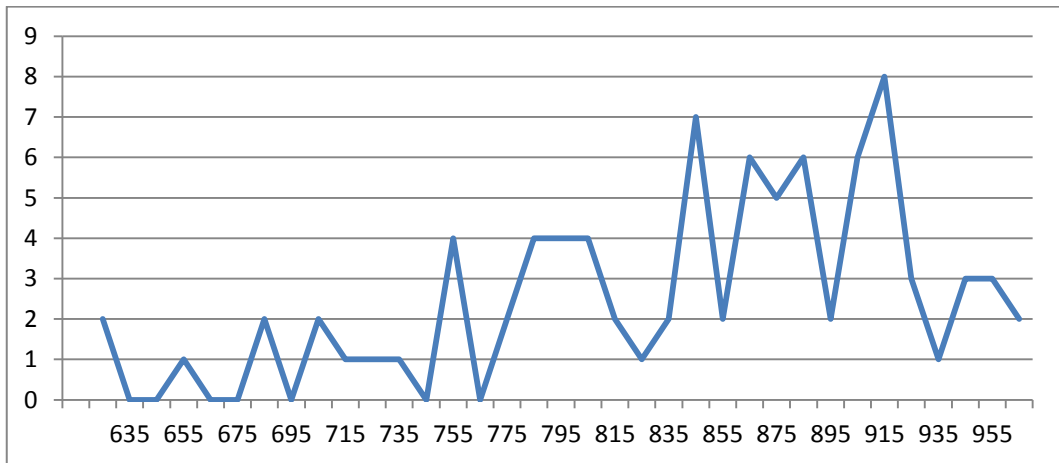


Figure 1: long dative plural endings in Plato's Laws

The morpheme occurs in all elements of the noun phrase: the article (τοῖσιν δὲ ὁσίοις *Lg.* 717a3), pronominal adjectives (ὡς αὐτοῖσιν ὠφελίαν ἐσομένην ἐκ τοῦ ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις *Resp.* 345e7), attributive adjectives (πολλοῖσι τοιούτοις τόποις *Phd.* 109b4), and substantives (ἐπομένοισιν *Pol.* 304e12, ἐν ἱεροῖσι πατρώοις *Lg.* 785a4). The lexical items which display this ending therefore cannot be easily explained as some coherent set: whilst something like *Ion* 535d3 χρυσοῖσι στεφάνοις might be termed ‘poetic’, especially given the wider context of the dialogue, it is difficult to understand why Plato would have marked demonstratives and articles in this way.<sup>661</sup> The definite article seems an unlikely candidate for register-sensitive variation.

<sup>660</sup> Díaz Tereja (1961) 253-262 claims on the basis of lexical evidence that Ionic elements in Plato become more frequent over time; this trend complements the increased use of the long dative endings, and suggests that they are more than a stylistic device.

<sup>661</sup> Russell (1991) 87 explains the use of οἷσι as a marker of the stilted, formal style (‘a disconcerting development in the history of Greek prose’ 59) of the *Laws*, but a relative pronoun seems an odd vehicle to carry this feature. On the style of the *Laws* see further Müller (1968) 98-130 with thorough literature review (though Müller’s main concerns are syntax and vocabulary).

Turning now to New Comedy, Menander attests the long dative plural endings beside the short ones:

*ā*-stems *Theoph.* 25 (ἀληθείαισι), fr.764.1 (διαβολαῖσι), fr.860.1 (ἀτυχίαισι).

*o*-stems *Pk.* 268 (θεοῖσι); fr.425 (αὐτοῖσ<iv>);<sup>662</sup> fr.451.2 (τοῖσι); *Sam.* 516 (τοῖσιν).

These questions receive further impetus from other writers of New Comedy, who also use these endings.<sup>663</sup> Both Diphilus and Philemon attest the longer forms of the dative plural:

Diphilus: *ā*-stems: fr.42. 15 (σπονδαῖσι); fr.74. 5 (τραγωδίαισιν); fr.98.1 (ἡμέραισιν); *o*-stems: fr.31. 2 (Κορινθίοισιν; Κορινθίους ἴν' codd.)

Philemon: *ā*-stems: fr.95. 7 (πάσαισιν); fr.96. 8 (δόξαισιν); fr.118. 1 (ἀληθείαισιν); fr.148. 1 (πολλαῖσιν); *o*-stems: fr.28. 2 (μόνοισι); fr.39. 1 (ἄλλοισιν); fr.82. 6 (τυροῖσιν); fr.94. 9 (κακοῖσιν); fr.96. 9 (προγόνοισιν); fr.96. 9 (ἐγγόνοισιν); fr.103. 2 (ἀνθρώποισιν); fr.106. 3 (πολλοῖσι); fr.110. 2 (ἀνθρώποισιν); fr.110. 4 (ἐτέροισιν); fr.116. 1 (τούτοισι); fr.169 (τέκνοισιν).

Phoenicides fr.3.1 (τούτοισι)

<sup>662</sup> The fragment as quoted in the manuscripts does not scan; Schneidewin's corrections seem the simplest solution. Kassel/Austin (1998) 255 promise more information in a note on *Theoph.* 25.

<sup>663</sup> See also Körte (1911) 246, but his collection there is only illustrative. Wilamowitz (1910) 392 claimed that the use of the long dative distinguished Diphilus (who used it) from Menander (who did not); although incorrect, this is an interesting reminder that differences in diction between New Comedy poets cannot be ruled out *a priori*. The long endings still seem to have been common in some poets of Middle Comedy, see for example Antiphanes fr. 1.3, 38.1, 55.2, 78.3, 85.1, 94.1, 95.1, 98.1, 145.4, 157.2, 170.4, 189.16, 193.14, 204.3, 206.3-4, 207.3, 208.4, 226.6, 231.4, 272.1; contrast Alexis, in whom I only find fr. 9.9, 165.2, 168.7.

We are faced, then, with the question of how a form we know cannot have been *sprachwirklich* in contemporary Attic can nonetheless have survived. Differently to previous approaches, this study will attempt to look at the examples from New Comedy as a whole. This is because a special explanation for each form individually is not a satisfactory solution. For example, the majority of examples have been explained by appealing to metre or to high-register language. The difficulty comes when authorities on the matter do not agree: is θεοῖσι in *Pk.* 268 ‘purely *metri gratia*’ or a ‘frase arcaico-sacrale’?<sup>664</sup> The disparity in explanations of individual examples accepted by commentators suggests that a search for a unifying explanation may be of value.

If we look for a historical explanation of these facts, two possibilities might be considered. Both involve some kind of reanalysis, of rather different kinds. One explanation might start from the fact that many examples of the long dative plural in New Comedy occur next to third declension forms, which always ended in –σι in the dative plural. An example of this is *Pl. Resp.* 388d7 μικροῖσιν παθήμασιν; this is also demonstrated on an Attic inscription of 367-348 B.C. (long after –οισι had vanished from the stones) reading [Ἀθηναί]οισιν ἄπασιν[ν].<sup>665</sup> Such collocations might be taken as indications of a reanalysis of –σι as a dative marker with subsequent generalisation to other morphological categories. In another part of Greece, in another dialect, and in a manner rather different in detail, a similar process led to the Aeolic dative in –εσσι.<sup>666</sup> What is unclear is why a reanalysis

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<sup>664</sup> For the view of the long dative plural forms as being metrically conditioned, see Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 735 (on the Didot papyrus), but note that this is contradicted by the comment on *Pk.* 268. For the interpretation of the phrase as an archaic inheritance, Zini (1938) 3, Lamagna (1994) 191 (on his 78); yet this interpretation hardly seems to fit the light-hearted, bantering tone of the passage in general.

<sup>665</sup> Threatte (1996) 31; note that this is not a metrical inscription.

<sup>666</sup> Wackernagel (1903); Morpurgo Davies (1976); García Ramón (1990).

like this should produce such sporadic results: in Aeolic, an entirely new dative plural ending was created.

This drawback is absent from the second explanation, which accounts precisely for the sporadic occurrence of long dative plurals in Attic, as well as finding them a plausible source. Contact with speakers of an Attic influenced by Ionic, if not with Ionic speakers themselves, may have led to a reanalysis of the Ionic dative plural ending  $-\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$  as being a legitimate part of the Attic dialect. In this way, certain sporadic examples of the Ionic ending might be expected to show up, in effect as a result of a kind of hyper-correction. Now although Ionic attests long dative plurals much more tenaciously than Attic, it must be admitted that even in Ionic the article lost the long form early. Why, then, does New Comedy show forms like  $\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}\sigma\iota$ ? This hypercorrection corresponds to a frequent phenomenon of contact situations, in which variation is not always controlled by speakers in a very consistent way; it reflects over-generalisation of a minority variant in a pre-koiné stage of mixing.<sup>667</sup>

The distribution of the long dative plural ending thus reflects the limited ability of speakers to control variants acquired through a process of dialect contact.

#### 3.4.5 The Attic declension (with an Excursus)

Attic underwent a phonetic process called quantitative metathesis, whereby two adjacent vocalic segments, the first of which was long and the second of which was short, exchanged their quantities:

$$\bar{V}V > V\bar{V}$$

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<sup>667</sup> See Kerswill (1994) 6 for the notion of instability in interlanguage – or rather interdialect.

Where this happened as a result of suffixation of the thematic vowel, the result was a new declension pattern with synchronically unusual endings, since the thematic vowel was lengthened. This declension pattern is conventionally called the ‘Attic declension’, and is illustrated by the following example:

\**nasuos* > *vā́ός* > Attic-Ionic /*nāeos*/ > Ionic *νηός*, Attic *νεός*

The present or absence of this pattern is an important diagnostic tool, since it distinguishes Attic both from other dialects and from the Koiné. The long thematic vowel is unique to Attic, while the presence of /a:/ in the stem is a firm indication of a non-Attic form.<sup>668</sup> Insofar as nouns of this shape survive in post-classical Greek, the Koiné generalises the non-Attic forms.<sup>669</sup> The change seems to have happened at rather different times in various parts of the Greek world; in Attica itself, the thematic inflection takes hold at the end of the third century.<sup>670</sup> In the framework of this inquiry the Attic declension is therefore of particular importance. If Menander uses the Attic declension, his language conforms to Attic, rather than Koiné norms; if he does not, then Menander allows us to revise the date of this change. Unfortunately the data in this case are not easy to interpret, partly because they are extremely scarce.<sup>671</sup>

#### 3.4.5.1 Excursus: the phoneme /a:/ in Menander

##### 3.4.5.1.1 The problem

<sup>668</sup> Doric, according to Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 36.

<sup>669</sup> Threatte (1996) 39 points out that *νεός* is almost the only common example.

Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 36 n.1 and Mayser (1938) 14-15 catalogue the different strategies by which the Koiné eliminates these forms. Crucially, the form adopted by the Koiné is never the Ionic form with <η>.

<sup>670</sup> Threatte (1996) 40. He dismisses a single early example (see *SEG* 2.121), but on insufficient grounds; see n.792 below. Bubeník (1989) 179 dates the rise of *ναός* in Attica to 250 B.C.; it developed earlier in Great Attic (on Delos from the fourth century).

<sup>671</sup> An additional complication is the use of both forms for stylistic reasons (variation) in the Septuagint (II Macc. 14:33, 14:35); cf. Meister (1975) 254.

Histories of the Greek vowel system that include the history of Attic Greek wrestle with /a:/, since Attic (and closely related Ionic) both fronted this phoneme in a pre-historic period. The fronting is thought to have happened in two stages. First, every \*/a:/ was fronted to \*/æ:/ or the like. In Ionic, this \*/æ:/ then merged with inherited /e:/, and was spelled with <η>; Attic by contrast suffered a process of *Rückverwandlung* of \*/æ:/ to /a:/ after the phonemes /e, i, r/, while in all other positions \*/æ:/ merged with /e:/ as in Ionic.<sup>672</sup> As a result, forms like Attic νεῶνιᾶς contrasted with Ionic νεηνίης, while Attic-Ionic τιμή contrasted with Doric and Aeolic τιμά. Aside from the \*/a:/ inherited from Proto-Greek, Attic-Ionic also created some new examples of /a:/ from other sources, for example by compensatory lengthening after loss of /n/ (e.g. \*pansa > πᾶσα) and contraction (e.g. ἐτίμᾱ). The distribution of the /a:/ phoneme in the Koiné is in essence the same as in Attic; however the picture is complicated by forms descending from non-Attic dialects. The distribution of /a:/ is therefore of particular interest for a study examining accommodation between Attic and other dialects, especially given the evidence for Greek awareness of the relevance of this contrast.<sup>673</sup>

#### 3.4.5.1.2 Forms with /a:/ and some etymologies

A complete list of every form with /a:/ would contain many forms that are of dubious relevance, such as first declension accusative plurals and compensatory lengthening products (e.g. the feminine sigmatic aorist participle). Overall, /a:/ is a stable phoneme in the Koiné. Nevertheless, some of the forms in Menander have etymological or other historical interest; in addition, the polygenesis of new /a:/ is an instructive case study of de-Atticisation in general.<sup>674</sup>

#### 3.4.5.1.3 Forms from contraction

The name ‘Athena’ is spelled consistently as Ἀθηνᾶ (*Asp.* 319; *Col.* 23, fr.2.5; *Pk.* 303; *Sam.* 213; *Sik.* 116, 144; fr.77.1, fr.96.2, fr.362.1, fr.420.1, ). The final syllable is a contraction product from

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<sup>672</sup> Szemérenyi (1987) 1338-1356.

<sup>673</sup> Thus Laconians and Boeotians in Aristophanes have /a:/ for Attic /a:/, while Ionic speakers in comedy have overgeneralised /e:/, cf. Colvin (1999) 137-140 (on Laconian and Boeotian), 269 (on Ionic τρηχύς in Eupolis fr.341).

<sup>674</sup> On the problems encountered in explaining post-classical /a:/ see Horrocks (2010) 83.

Ἀθηναία, the form found on dedications.<sup>675</sup> The vocalism of the second syllable contrasts with the more conservative form Ἀθήνα found in tragedy.<sup>676</sup>

αὐθαδία (*Mis.* 688) ‘stubbornness’ is derived from αὐθαδής ‘selfishness, self-willing’; this is an old compound \*αὐθο<sup>o</sup>φιδεσ-, ultimately from the root \**smeh<sub>2</sub>d-* (cf. ἡδύς, ἀνδάνω, Lat. *suavis*). The metre assures the length of the /a/ as well as the shape of the suffix (for which see §2.1.4.1).

νεᾶλής (fr.559) is preserved in a gloss only for the sake of the quantity of the /a/. The /a:/ is described by etymological dictionaries as being long in composition. It may however be the regular result of contraction, if from \*νεο<sup>o</sup>αλ-εσ-, the second element being a verbal root cognate with Lat. *alō* ‘nourish’.

φᾶνός ‘torch’ has an /a:/ guaranteed by metre in fr.60; this is a contraction product of φαεινός < \**p<sup>h</sup>ames-no-*.

ASg. χοῖα (fr.442) from χοεύς has /a:/ by contraction.<sup>677</sup>

#### 3.4.5.1.4 Other phonetic changes

ᾶν vs. ἔάν: This variation is commonly explained as being the result of contraction; but, phonologically, we can interpret this as case of a ‘new’ /a:/. The result of this new /a:/ must have been to increase the functional load of the phoneme in the phonological system. What is striking is the existence in earlier literature of a variant ῆν (according to the authorities the regular product of the contraction in Attic).<sup>678</sup> Since ᾶν cannot be attributed to regular change of ῆν, we can conclude that the uncontracted form was always accessible to speakers. The form ἔάν therefore never vanished, until at a later stage Attic speakers contracted (though see below on whether this is right term for the development) the vowel to /a:/. It is nonetheless interesting that both Aristophanes and Menander prefer their respective contracted variants, Willi counting c. 270 ῆν to c. 70 ἔάν (4:1). In Menander, these proportions are 86 ᾶν to 40 ἔάν (2:1). The inscriptions prefer the long variants;

<sup>675</sup> Wilamowitz (1955) 163 n. 2.

<sup>676</sup> Tragic data listed in Björck (1950) 133; note however 134, where Björck argues against deriving Ἀθήνα from archaic Attic rather than from Doric-influenced poetic genres.

<sup>677</sup> Kühner/Blass (1890) 498. See Kassel/Austin (1998) 261 for Choeroboscus’ comment on this paradigm.

<sup>678</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 250; Willi (2003) 235. I am therefore sceptical that the lead letter from Emporion (see Santiago/Sanmarti (1989)) must be in Ionic, since the presence of ῆν is the only evidence for this view.

certainly  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  and probably  $\tilde{\eta}\nu$  should be seen as allegro forms, characteristic of speech, while the written records preferred the fuller form (in the case of  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  perhaps to avoid confusion with the modal particle).<sup>679</sup>

#### 3.4.5.1.5 Literary dialect

$\tilde{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$  in fr.702.2 represents a metrical lengthening found in all poetic genres; some further comic examples are Antiphanes fr.86.6 ( $\tilde{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ ); Alexis fr.163.2; Amphis fr.8.2 ( $\tilde{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ).<sup>680</sup>

#### 3.4.5.1.6 Loanwords

$\mu\tilde{\alpha}\tau\rho\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\omicron\nu$  ‘brothel’ (*Ep.* 692). Schulze identified the word  $\mu\tilde{\alpha}\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda(\lambda)\alpha$  ‘Bordellmutter’;<sup>681</sup> closely related, and earlier attested, is the word  $\mu\tilde{\alpha}\tau\rho\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\omicron\nu$ , first found as a gloss, then on papyrus. Björck suggests that after the loanword was adopted, it was preserved in its original phonological shape out of a kind of prudishness; the foreign form of the word acted as a kind of euphemism.<sup>682</sup> The /a:/ is confirmed by metre, as /tr/ would not normally be split between syllables.

#### 3.4.5.1.7 The phoneme /a:/ in word-formation

In general, the phonological changes discussed above mean that inherited Greek suffixes containing \*/a:/ have /ε:/ in historical Attic. As a result the phoneme /a:/ plays a role in word-formation in Greek only as a morphological alternant: beside a verbal abstract like  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\text{-}\acute{\eta}$  ‘snatching’ we have  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\alpha$  ‘sight’, for example.

#### 3.4.5.1.8 Nominal categories

There is however a category of *n*-stems with /a:/ in the suffix as standard, some of which are attested in Menander (as well as in later Koiné texts). The forms in question are  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (fr.584), and  $\kappa\alpha\nu\delta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\nu$  (*Asp.* fr.4, *Sik.* 388). It is clear that this suffix had limited productivity; from the phonological point of view, it contributed to a slight increase in tokens of /a:/, but did not result in any changes to the system.

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<sup>679</sup> For Schwyzer (1959) 128 this is an example of Menander’s ‘Atticism’ in contrast to the tendency of Greek outside comic dialogue.

<sup>680</sup> See Arnott (1996b) 478, 482.

<sup>681</sup> Schulze (1934) 707.

<sup>682</sup> Björck (1950) 77. There are numerous parallels for this in English, where French and Italian words may be adopted for similar reasons.

## 3.4.5.1.9 Verbal categories

Verbs in liquids in classical Attic had aorist forms with /a:/.<sup>683</sup> In Menander, however, very few verbs of this type happen to be attested in the aorist. The single example is the aorist optative κερδάνειε *Ep.* 335, which attests /a:/ in these formations, even after consonants other than /r/. The generalisation of /ε:/ in these forms has therefore not yet occurred.

## 3.4.5.1.10 The phoneme /a:/ in post-classical Greek

The previous section has attempted to showcase the genesis of new /a:/ in late fourth-century Greek. Because this development is not a structural change in the phonology of Greek of this period, it has often been overlooked. Kretschmer drew attention to forms on Greek vases that were apparently Doric;<sup>684</sup> though the Doricism of these particular forms has been challenged, they point to a greater variety in the Greek being spoken in Athens than our literary texts might have us believe. In any case, Menander attests several sources internal to Attic for new tokens of /a:/.

Significantly the noun ναός ‘temple’ (only *Leuc.* 5 = fr.686 K.-T.) has the shape of a normal thematic noun, the form found in the non-Attic dialects, in the book fragment; Threutte dates the rise of the normal thematic endings in this noun (the only well-attested Attic declension noun on the inscriptions) to the late third century B.C., save one metrical example.<sup>685</sup> Its presence in *Leuc.* 5 therefore looks unusually early. One could explain it by invoking the influence of tragedy; Menander is after all known to use tragic language for special effect.<sup>686</sup> We have too little of the scene to decide either way: unusual language on the part of the Zakoros can perhaps not be ruled out.<sup>687</sup> The problem is that a papyrus text of this

<sup>683</sup> Kühner/Blass (1892) 170-1; Lautensach (1911) 201; Björck (1950) 43; Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 57.

<sup>684</sup> Kretschmer (1894) 78-81.

<sup>685</sup> Threutte (1996) 39-40, but see n.689 below.

<sup>686</sup> In general Katsouris (1975); Sandbach (1969) 124-129.

<sup>687</sup> The form of address τέκνον is found in paratragic contexts in Menander: *Mis.* 615 (where the metrically heavy first syllable also suggests a background in tragic poetry) and *Pk.* 804 (in paratragic stichomythia); but the word here scans as an iamb. It is an unmarked form of address at *Georg.* 25, 63, 84, 109, and is explicitly said to be a typical form of address at *Sam.* 242 (ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κοινά; δὴ is hardly ironical here, see Sommerstein (2013) 178). Bain (1984) 38-9 suggests that

passage reads  $\nu\epsilon\omega$ [[v]]; the ed. pr. comments: ‘the papyrus gives  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}$  (originally  $\nu\epsilon\omega\nu$ ; the final  $\nu$  apparently blotted out, and an expunging dot above), the quotation  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ; no doubt the papyrus is right’.<sup>688</sup> On balance therefore we must conclude that Menander still knew the Attic declension.<sup>689</sup> This conclusion gains weak support from the presence of the Attic declension ( $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \nu\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ) in Philemon fr.127.2; it is also true, however, that Philemon seems to have been a more conservative writer than Menander in certain respects.

We can therefore follow Bubeník’s chronology for the loss of the Attic declension. But the fact that it arose outside of Attica is significant; an overlooked source for  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\zeta$  is accommodation by Ionic speakers to Attic. Since Attic has /a:/ where Ionic has /ε:/, an Ionic speaker might adjust his dialect by pronouncing /a:/ for his regular /ε:/. The result is an interdialect form  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\zeta$ .

### 3.4.6 Consonantal stems

In general, the consonantal stems in late Attic and the Koiné are relatively stable; as a result, we concentrate here on those forms in which some kind of variation might be expected.

#### 3.4.6.1 *i*- and *u*-stems

The inflection of *i*-stems in Menander shows the effects of competing analogical processes. In addition, there are some examples of heteroclitic inflection, in which a lexeme shows differing stem formations in different cases.

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$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\nu$  is an archaising feature in female speech; this idea is nuanced by Dickey (1995) 66-8 (and generally 65-72) who argues that  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\nu$  is used by (actual or ersatz) relatives.

<sup>688</sup> P.J. Parsons on *P.Oxy.*54.4024, p.45.

<sup>689</sup> *Contra* López Eire (2002) 81-82, who claims  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omicron}\nu$  for Menander. López Eire adduces interesting epigraphic evidence for the simultaneous use of both forms on a single inscription (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1678.b.A.14, a.A.15, c. 350 B.C).

Thus ὄρνις is inflected both as a consonantal stem and as an *i*-stem; the latter inflection is attested at fr.115.1 (APl. ὄρνεις; contrast the dental stem in the following line of the fragment), fr.132.3, 4 (APl. ὄρνις); this inflection is already found S. *OT*.966, E. *Hipp*.1059, Ar. *Av*.717, 1250, 1610, Dem. 19.245.<sup>690</sup> Inherited *i*-stem inflection can be found in ὄφις ‘bracelet’ with APl. ὄφεις (fr.292). The semantic specialisation of ὄφις (‘bracelet’ « ‘snake’,<sup>691</sup> presumably from bracelets with the form of the ouroboros) leads to the generalisation of ἔχις (*Dysk*. 480) as the word for ‘snake’.<sup>692</sup>

The *u*-stem accusative plural (originally  $-\bar{u}\varsigma < *-\text{uns}$ ) was redetermined in the Koiné by addition of the consonantal accusative plural ending  $-\alpha\varsigma$  (ἰχθύας Mt 14:17); but this has not yet happened in Menander (e.g. τὰς ὀφρῦς).<sup>693</sup>

Two forms of the nominative plural are attested: *Sam*. 98 ἰχθῦς vs. fr.224.5 ἐγγέλεις.<sup>694</sup> The ending  $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is the expected outcome of  $*-\epsilon\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ . In inscriptions and papyri, the form  $-\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$  is also attested, with a similar redetermination of the nominative plural that we saw above in the accusative plural.<sup>695</sup> NPl.  $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  may have been remodelled to  $-\upsilon\varsigma$  either on the basis of the old APl. or by generalisation of the stem vowel down the paradigm (ἰχθύς : ἰχθεῖς » ἰχθῦς).

### 3.4.6.2 *s*-stems

The inflection of *s*-stems was generally stable in the Koiné, notwithstanding some changes in the distribution of the suffix, up to the first century A.D., when they

<sup>690</sup> Contrast the papyri, in which the by-forms ὄρνεον and (Doric) ὄρνιξ are found but never the *i*-stem; Mayser (1938) 31.

<sup>691</sup> This is an Attic feature according to Moeris 288; cf. also Nicostratus fr.32.1.

<sup>692</sup> Consequently, I doubt Arnott’s restoration of ὄφιν at *Mis*. 42; ἔχιν would also fit.

<sup>693</sup> See the table on p.115 for references; the word is only attested in the APl. in Menander.

<sup>694</sup> See Sommerstein (2013) 98 of  $-\bar{u}\varsigma$ .

<sup>695</sup> Threatte (1996) 219-220; Mayser (1938) 25.

begin to decline.<sup>696</sup> There were however three categories of *s*-stem whose inflection was adjusted in late Attic. The first of these are compounded personal names in *-ης* (type *Σω<sup>ο</sup>κράτης*).<sup>697</sup> Like other animate *s*-stem nouns, the vocative usually shows the plain suffix *-ες* with recessive accentuation, e.g. *Σώκρατες*.<sup>698</sup> However, in the course of the fourth century there is increasing confusion between *ā*-stem masculine nouns (also common as personal names, the *Ἀλκιβιάδης* type) and the *s*-stem forms.<sup>699</sup> The forms most commonly used as diagnostic for this change are the vocative and accusative. In Menander, we read the VSg. *Στρατοφάνη* (*Sik*.135, 142, 377, 381, fr.3.1;<sup>700</sup> rest. 128) and ASg. *Στρατοφάνην* (*Sik*.365) for classical *\*Στρατόφανες*, *\*Στρατοφάνη*. Menander's usage in this case is reflected by contemporary non-Attic inscriptions.<sup>701</sup> The *s*-stem inflection is however still attested: GSg. *Ἀριστοτέλους* fr.258.<sup>702</sup>

Menander also uses a noun which historically was an isolated type of *s*-stem, *σής* 'moth'. The *s*-stem inflection is attested in the fifth century (NPl. *σέες* Hermippus fr.91; GPI. *σέων* Ar. *Lys*.730); other forms are attested by grammarians, e.g. NPl. *σέες* by Moeris p.339 P.<sup>703</sup> By contrast, the later language has a *t*-stem inflection, in Aristotle (*HA*. 557b3), Theophrastus (*HP* 9.11.11), and Menander (fr.761.5).<sup>704</sup>

<sup>696</sup> Meissner (2006) 182. For sigmatic formations in Menander, see §2.1.5.

<sup>697</sup> Meissner (2006) 171-172, 178-182, 197 for onomastic evidence.

<sup>698</sup> Menander also attests the vocative in *-εις* to names compounded in *-κλῆς*, especially *Ἡρακλεῖς* in exclamations, but this reflects a different situation (*-κλεῖς* < *\*-κλέφες*).

<sup>699</sup> Meissner (2006) 179; Chantraine (1933) 429; Schwyzer (1959) 579. The papyri remained in flux until the turn of the millennium, though the accusative was rebuilt first, see Mayser (1938) 38-40, and more generally Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994) 65-66.

<sup>700</sup> This fragment is quoted by Photius specifically in order to demonstrate the form of the vocative (*κλητικὴ πτώσις*) in Menander.

<sup>701</sup> Cf. Krieter-Spiro (1997) 211-2.

<sup>702</sup> Other *s*-stem names are only attested in the NSg.: *Ἀνδροκλῆς* *Sam*.606, *Καλλικλῆς* fr.246.7, *Πολυνείκης* fr.248.

<sup>703</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 578.

<sup>704</sup> Pace Lloyd-Jones/Barns (1964) 31 = Lloyd-Jones (1990) 110 ('nothing inconsistent with Menander's authorship') and Arnott (1999) 61, this indicates that *P. Ant.* 15 (Sandbach (1999) 327-8) cannot be by Menander (cf. 25 ὑπὸ σέων). Handley (2006) astutely compares the opening of *Mis.* but is also forced (24) to admit that the motif of the address to Night (Day, Sun, Moon,

The interest of this is the relatively late development of the *t*-stem inflection; many other irregular stems of this kind (e.g. the γέλως type) had been remade at a much earlier stage.<sup>705</sup> Menander apparently preserves both *s*- and *t*-stem inflection of the nouns in -αζ.<sup>706</sup>

In the classical period, comparative adjectives in -ων inflected as *n*-stems, but there were *s*-stem allomorphs of the masculine-feminine accusative singular, and the nominative and accusative plural in all genders. These are attested in the Mycenaean period (*me-zo-a*<sub>2</sub>, /medzoha/, giving classical μείζω by contraction), and go back to the proto-language.<sup>707</sup> These allomorphs are still attested in Menander (NPl. βελτίω fr.322.2),<sup>708</sup> but are less frequent than the *n*-stem alternatives (βελτιον- *Dysk.* 283, fr.273.3, fr.871.4 (corrupt); further ἐλάττωνος *Ph.* 16, κρείττων- *Theoph.* fr.1.15, *Ep.* 329). It is however true that these comparatives are most commonly attested in the neuter singular, where no *s*-stem alternative was available; cf. βέλτιον *Asp.* 209, *Dysk.* 149, 251, 418, *Mis.* 669, *Sik.* 340; αἴσχιον *Ep.* fr.10.2; ἄμεινον *Mis.* 536, fr.602.9; ἔλαττων fr.708.3; ἥδιον fr.825.1; θᾶπτον *Asp.* 222, *Dysk.* 430, 454, 596, 866, \*889, *Ep.* 371, *Pk.* 364, 526, *Per.* fr.6.3, *Sam.* 574, 658, 679, 691, 720, fr.65.5, fr.460, fr.602.11; κάλλιον fr.786.2; κρείττων *Dysk.* 811, 957, *Ep.* 1068, *Theoph.* fr.1.18, *Car.* fr.4, fr.695, fr.713.2, fr.727, fr.787, fr.841.1, fr.843.1. The frequency of the neuter singular is enhanced by the gnomic style of many of the book fragments.

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etc.) is found in other comic authors (e.g. in Pl. *Merc.*, adapted from Philemon). Consequently the traces of title and author, if that is what they are, ]ε . [ . . ] . ρο . | [ ] . . ζ, must be differently restored.

<sup>705</sup> Meissner (2006) 132-3.

<sup>706</sup> For more details, see §2.1.5.1.

<sup>707</sup> Sihler (1995) 362; Szemerényi (1996) 194-6.

<sup>708</sup> *Sent.* 738 Jäkel has καλλίω, but as the ι scans short it cannot be a Menandrian line.

The relevant numbers are therefore small (1: 6), but seem to indicate a preference for the *n*-stem inflection; this can be interpreted as paradigm levelling characteristic of a koineising variety. It is not necessary to posit contact with Ionic, but Ionic inscriptions in several areas do not use *s*-stem forms.<sup>709</sup>

#### 3.4.6.3 *n*-stems

The form εικών has an alternative formation in -ώ (i.e. the feminine *oi*-stem inflection).<sup>710</sup> This is attested in Herodotus,<sup>711</sup> but apparently was not used by Menander; cf. fr.420, fr.535.

#### 3.4.6.4 The inflection of γυνή

The noun γυνή is inflected with a stem γυναικ- in most Greek dialects. This paradigm is attested in Menander, and in fact remains relatively stable in the later language.<sup>712</sup> Evidence for the normal paradigm in Menander is frequent, including e.g. ASg. γυναι̃κα (*Dysk.*828), GSg. γυναικός (*Asp.*134), DSg. γυναικί (*Ep.*794), NPl. γυναι̃κες (*Sam.*426), etc.<sup>713</sup>

However, beside this Menander also attests an *ā*-stem plural form (γυναί fr.457); this is paralleled elsewhere in comedy, cf. Alc. com. fr.32 VSg. γυνή, Pher. fr.9 ASg. γυνήν, Philippid. fr.2 NPl. γυναί, and Pher. fr.206 APl. γυνάς. Apparently this form is not attested on the Attic inscriptions.<sup>714</sup> Presumably this form should

<sup>709</sup> See Garbrah (1978) §66 for Erythrae.

<sup>710</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 479 with further examples.

<sup>711</sup> Smyth (1894) 408. For the isolated Attic inscriptional examples, see Threatte (1996) 122-3.

<sup>712</sup> Though in the Byzantine period γυνή is apparently treated as an indeclinable word; see Gignac (1977) 52 for examples and Mayser (1938) 30 for a possible Ptolemaic forerunner which he does not think should be read as γυνῆ (see below).

<sup>713</sup> That this is a Pan-Hellenic, not only an Attic paradigm, can be inferred from the Hesychius glosses βανά· γυνή· ὑπὸ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς and βανῆκας· γυναι̃κας· Βοιωτοί. The implication that the development of the -αι(κ)- extension to the stem is older than the development of the labiovelars may find support in Armenian *kin* 'woman', pl. *kanay-k<sup>č</sup>*; but see Clackson (1994) 136-7.

<sup>714</sup> Threatte (1996) 274; Schwyzer (1939) 582-3.

be associated with learner errors such as \**childs* for *children*, or \**we was* for *we were*; such forms are sometimes corrected and relearned, but others can become the majority forms in a group of speakers.<sup>715</sup>

### 3.4.7 The dual

The dual in Menander and other authors of New Comedy was examined by Humpers, who concluded that ‘le duel n’est pas sorti de la langue de la comédie.’<sup>716</sup> The dual’s status and function in Greek as a whole is controversial. López Eire, for example, sees the decline of the dual already in Aristophanes, since dual and plural forms are often combined in single syntagmas, and (according to our manuscripts at least) the gender distinctions in the dual had been confused by the end of the fifth century.<sup>717</sup> Forms of it are used in both literary and epigraphic texts, though apparently more commonly in the orators than in inscriptions.<sup>718</sup> By the end of the fourth century, the dual has more or less disappeared entirely, *pace* the odd instance of artificial revivals, presumably to give grand or archaic flavour to particular inscriptions (e.g. in a decree of 230 A.D.).

Common nouns:<sup>719</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> decl. ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν ταῖν θυεῖν ταύταιν (fr.411.1-2);<sup>720</sup>

3<sup>rd</sup> decl. Αἰξωνέοιν (fr.200);<sup>721</sup>

<sup>715</sup> Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994) 94-95 notes that this form behaves exceptionally among third declension nouns in not generalising the consonantal stem.

<sup>716</sup> Humpers (1922) 85. This article is also an interesting demonstration of ‘treading the circle warily’, cf. Housman (1922) 80 = Diggle/Goodyear (1972) 1066.

<sup>717</sup> López Eire (1991) 21-26; see also Jebb (1889) 257-8, 293 on S. *OC*.1675.

<sup>718</sup> Schwzyer (1940) = Schwzyer (1983) 443-456, esp. 445 considers the use of the dual an archaism preserved in Attic vernacular speech.

<sup>719</sup> Philemon has στρατιῶτα κοῦκ ἄνθρωπε καὶ σιτούμενε fr.142.1, Diphilus λίτραιν δυοῖν fr.72.2.

<sup>720</sup> For discussion of the morphology of the dual see Cooper (1972) 117.

<sup>721</sup> Cf. ἀριστέοιν S. *Aj*. 1304.

Divine names: ὦ Διοσκόρω φίλω (*Dysk.* 192); ὁ θάτερος μὲν τοῖν δυοῖν Διοσκόροιν (fr.491); τὸ θεῶ (*Georg.*24, 109, *Dysk.*878, *Ep.*543 (νή);722 *Mis.* 576, *Sik.* 33 (μά)

δύο, ἄμφω: NA δύο *Ep.*140, fr.21, fr.130.2; GD δυεῖν *Dysk.* 327, fr.411.2;<sup>723</sup> δυοῖν *Her.*16, fr.200, fr.491; δύο usually agrees with a plural noun (cf. *Dysk.*327 and *Her.*16),<sup>724</sup> but cf. fr.411, fr.200.

GD ἀμφοῖν *Asp.* 352; *Mis.* 686.

Pronominal: νῶν fr.241, fr.457.

The dual therefore seems to have been preserved almost exclusively in oaths to pairs of deities.<sup>725</sup> The Dioscuri and the Thesmophoroi are the main examples.<sup>726</sup> This does not indicate retention of the dual as a morphological category.<sup>727</sup> It should be noted however that not every divine name in the dual is an oath (see fr.491), which indicates that the dual might still be heard in ordinary speech without being marked, though its survival might be attributed to ritual language.

Even though the dual inflection of the number δύο and ἄμφω ‘both’ has been retained, this may be seen as a semantically motivated morphological archaism.<sup>728</sup> Syntactically, both words more regularly trigger plural agreement in nouns they

<sup>722</sup> Humpers (1922) 78 also mentions papyrus texts from the second century B.C. with expressions like νῆ τῶι θεῶι where this is thought to represent a wrongly spelled dual form.

<sup>723</sup> δυοῖν is *v.l.* in fr.411.

<sup>724</sup> Cf. Philippides fr.9.5. Polybius has the same syntax, see de Foucault (1972) 69.

<sup>725</sup> The claim that isolated verb forms in the dual have also survived, e.g. Duhoux (2000) 133, is incorrect.

<sup>726</sup> For these as the reference of τὸ θεῶ cf. Threatte (1996) 18.

<sup>727</sup> Vessella (2008) 332-3. The dual in this function survives well into the Roman period, see Threatte (1996) 19-20.

<sup>728</sup> For the phonology of δυεῖν see §3.1.4.1.1 above.

occur with. The loss of the dual may have been aided by the tendency to mark dual number with δύο or ἄμφω, as a result of which the ending was obsolete.<sup>729</sup>

The nature of the testimony of fr.411 is disputed. It has, for example, been suggested that this comes from the prologue speech of a divine speaker, who uses a grand archaism. The idea of referring to ‘two sisters’ in a prologue with some emphasis is plausible given plays like the *Adelphoi*, *Menaechmi*, *Dis Exapaton* (*Bacchides*) etc.; but I am not convinced that the dual could only have been used by a divine speaker. Other prologues spoken by gods show rather complex syntactical periods, but not generally a large concentration of archaisms.<sup>730</sup> In the absence of the rest of the speech, brimming with duals or otherwise, it is perhaps significant that the duals of fr.411 are, like all duals in Menander, thematic (or  $\bar{a}$ -stem); there is no trace of the athematic ending –ε. The dual’s role in the Greek number system has thus been lost; probably we are witnessing a set of isolated forms that owe their survival to specific usages in conservative varieties.

### 3.5 Pronouns and demonstratives

#### 3.5.1 Demonstrative pronouns.

##### 3.5.1.1 Neuter in –ov

The demonstrative pronouns were inflected in Greek as in many Indo-European languages according not to the nominal but to the pronominal type. In Greek, this is visible in the neuter singular, in which the *o*-stem noun inflection had –ov, while the pronoun had –o. In later Greek, this distinction begins to break down,

<sup>729</sup> The Septuagint has δύοῖν/δύεῖν only in the more conservative portions (Job 13:20, 9:33; IV Macc. 1:88, 15:2); Meister (1907) 250.

<sup>730</sup> See the analysis of the prologue of *Pk.* by Zini (1938) 15-17.

and the *o*-stem inflection is adopted in full by some ‘pronominal’-type elements.<sup>731</sup>

The examples in Menander are as follows:

ταῦτόν *Asp.* 124 ≠ *Asp.* 179, 352;

τοιοῦτον *Asp.* 204; *Dysk.* 694; *Ep.* 445 (-ί), *Ep.* 476, 510, 895; *Her.* 6;  
*Sam.* 299, 587 ≠ *Dysk.* 156, 489, 631; *Ep.* 546, 881; *Sam.* 210, 375, 587,  
627; *Sik.* 276, 344

τοσοῦτον *Asp.* 401; *Ep.* 437; *Mis.* 25, 666; *Pk.* 543, 1004; ≠ τοσοῦτο *Asp.*  
240

At *Dysk.* 76 an extra syllable is required for the metre; Page conjectured τοιοῦτ<ό γ’>, but the *editio princeps* restored τοιοῦτον. γε is not otiose here, but not absolutely necessary either; τοιοῦτο is also conjectured at *Dysk.* 752.

There are several ways of explaining this allomorphy. Since demonstrative adjectives were part of the noun phrase, there will always have been easy sources for nominal endings in their paradigm. Even if this diachronic hypothesis is correct, synchronically the syntax of the pronoun or adjective is not a determining factor:

- (1) ταῦτόν προσήκων (*Asp.* 124)
- (2) προσήκων ταυτό (*Asp.* 179)

<sup>731</sup> The end result in the modern language is complicated by the loss of word-final /n/ (already in the Ptolemaic period, Mayser/Schmoll (1970) 169; carefully discussed for the Attic inscriptions by Threatte (1980) 636-637); to make matters worse, -v# is facultatively restored in some positions.

Word-order here is not of particular importance; the same syntagm can admit either ending of the pronoun. Synchronically, the variation between the endings is therefore a matter of morphology, not of syntax.

Though this process of analogy was in principle possible in every Greek dialect, the ancient grammarians claim that this feature was an isogloss; thus –ov is supposed to be characteristic of Attic, –o of Ionic.<sup>732</sup> This is supported by the usage of the orators: Lysias, Isocrates, Lycurgus and Hyperides all use –ov almost exclusively (–o just once in Hyperides, *Eux.* 31.1). Aristophanes likewise ‘virtually never’ used the pronominal ending.<sup>733</sup> Polybius by contrast uses –ov only as a hiatus breaker, thus aligning himself more with Ionic norms (–o always in Herodotus save τοιοῦτον 2.150, 3.27, 3.77 (*v.l.*), 3.85, 5.106, 7.103; τοσοῦτον 1.107, 178, 207, 4.45, 199, 5.16 (*v.l.*), 5.50, 7.153). If this is true, then Attic innovated by generalising nominal inflection, apparently quite aggressively; this was then reversed due to contact with Ionic. The –ov ending is still more frequent in Menander, but –o has begun to be reintroduced.

### 3.5.1.2 Deictic –ί

The Greek demonstrative pronouns can have affixed to them a suffix –ί, apparently a way of making demonstrative elements more ‘emphatic’.<sup>734</sup> Often, this means that the deixis is made less distal; οὔτοσί can be seen as functionally equivalent to ὄδε.<sup>735</sup>

<sup>732</sup> Kühner/Blass (1890) 606, Schwyzer (1959) 609 n.6, Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 51 n.8.

<sup>733</sup> Willi (2003) 243-4. It is not clear what precisely Willi thinks is conservative about Aristophanes’ usage.

<sup>734</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 611-2; Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 208.

<sup>735</sup> Cf. Blass (1889) 4 on the use of οὔτοσί and ὄδε as functional equivalents in Demosthenes.

This is held to be a feature of everyday spoken Greek that has found its way into the written record, particularly of comedy, which tends to reflect lower registers.<sup>736</sup> Of the authors surveyed by Dover in his study of this phenomenon, Aristophanes shows the most frequent use of this suffix (20% marked with *-i*). Furthermore, the widest range of lexemes to which this suffix is attached is attested in his text.<sup>737</sup>

Menander's fragmentary text makes it difficult to use proportions of this kind, since badly damaged lines may have lost examples, skewing the over-all distribution. As a result, only the Bodmer plays have been used for the statistics; these plays also have reliable indices, which allowed a check of the results. The sample yields 77 tokens of *-i* lexemes, roughly comparable to Dover's figures for Lysias, Plato and Isaeus; the suffix was therefore strong in Menander. The sample happened not to contain instances of *τοιουτοσί*, which was also used by Menander.<sup>738</sup>

	A.	D.	S.	sum		A.	D.	S.	sum	ratio <i>-i</i> : $\emptyset$
οὔτοσί	10	23	16	<b>49</b>	οὔτος	70	121	114	<b>305</b>	1:6
ὀδί	1	2	1	<b>4</b>	ὄδε	4	4	6	<b>14</b>	1:3.5
νυνί	5	7	4	<b>16</b>	νῦν	8	24	22	<b>54</b>	1:5
οὔτωςί	1	0	1	<b>2</b>	οὔτως	3	3	3	<b>9</b>	1:4.5
ἐνθαδί	1	4	1	<b>6</b>	ἐνθάδε	3	8	5	<b>16</b>	1:3
<b>totals</b>				<b>77</b>					<b>398</b>	<b>1:5</b>

<sup>736</sup> It is never found in tragedy and generally not in history, cf. Kühner/Blass (1890) 620; see however Dover (1997) 63 for the two instances in Thucydides.

<sup>737</sup> Dover (1997) 63-4 for analysis and statistical presentation.

<sup>738</sup> *Ep.* 246, 256, 445, 1060; *Pk* 297. A preliminary study of the Cairo plays (*Her.*, *Ep.*, *Pk.*, *Sam.*, *FI*), the Bodmer plays, *DE* and *Sik.* gave an overall figure of 1:7; this may reflect the fluctuations in state of preservation of the plays.

If we compare Menander to Aristophanes, we notice that the overall proportion of forms with demonstrative -ί has slightly declined (Aristophanes has 1:4 according to Dover), but Menander still uses the suffix more than fourth-century prose writers. This seems, however, to correspond to a different functional application of the suffix. In particular, it has become restricted to lexemes indicating near deixis, whether pronominal (οὗτος, ὅδε) or adverbial (νῦν, ἐνθάδε), while distal deictic elements (ἐκεῖνος, ἐνταῦθα) are no longer marked with the suffix.<sup>739</sup>

### 3.5.2 The paradigms of τίς and ὅστις

Originally, the word ὅστις was formed by the univerbation of the normal relative pronoun ὅς, ἥ, ὅ with the indefinite pronoun τίς. On the evidence of Aeolic ὅττι (< \**jod-kʷid*) the univerbation may date to a prehistoric period. This pronoun's inflection generally reflected its prehistory as a univerbation, both elements inflecting as independent words (thus masculine-neuter genitive singular οὔτινος, masculine nominative plural οὔτινες). However there existed from an early stage short forms of the genitive and dative ὅτου and ὅτῳ; since the relative frequency of these forms relative to the long variants changed in the classical period, their distribution should be able to tell us something about the language of Menander.

In Aristophanes, both the paradigms of τίς / τίς and ὅστις generally tend to prefer bisyllabic forms.<sup>740</sup> On the inscriptions, however, του occurs more frequently than τινός until around 350 B.C., while του is not attested after 300.

<sup>739</sup> One might in fact question the linguistic realism of the Aristophanic evidence on precisely these grounds: if the effect of -ί is to make a demonstrative less distal, what does it mean when affixed to distal demonstratives like ἐκεῖνος? Such forms might in fact be symptomatic of comic exuberance, rather than reflecting real speech patterns.

<sup>740</sup> Willi (2003) 244.

In Menander, ὄτω occurs four times (*Ep.* 415, fr.236.6, fr.835.6, fr.870), and ὄτου once (fr.694.2), while ὄτινι is never found. This may be due to metrical constraints, or may indicate that the longer inflection, though rebuilt analogically, had been given up. The short genitive of τις is also attested (του fr.537.2)

The function of the relative pronoun ὅστις is discussed in §4.3.2.

### 3.6 Prepositions

Prepositions in ancient Greek do not inflect. Only one form will be discussed here, namely the improper preposition ἔνεκα. This is attested in Greek in various shapes, but the two relevant for our enquiry are ἔνεκα and ἔνεκεν. Judging from the inscriptional evidence, the former was standard Attic;<sup>741</sup> the later is an Ionic form, entering Attica in the second half of the fourth century.<sup>742</sup> It is subsequently successful in the Koiné: Polybius has 19 examples of ἔνεκα to 26 of ἔνεκεν (of which only 13 can be accounted for by a desire to avoid hiatus).<sup>743</sup>

In Menander, there is a preference for ἔνεκα: *Asp.* 9, *Georg.* fr.1.2, *Dysk.* 449, 564, 766; *Mis.* 434, 681, 789; *Pk.* 163, 326, 332, 333; *Sam.* 295, 473; fr.321.2, fr.723. The standard Attic form thus still prevails. By contrast, there is a single example of ἔνεκεν:

τάλαν, / τίνοϛ ἔνεκεν; (*Ep.* 546-7)

Note that metrical explanations will not do, since Menander could have written τίνοϛ / ἔνεκα, τάλαν; with no violence to the metre (for the mid-group line-break

<sup>741</sup> Hyperides only has ἔνεκα, cf. Pohle (1928) 108.

<sup>742</sup> Bubeník (1989) 180 dates this rather later, but see Threatte (1996) 660, 663 for the first securely dated example of ἔνεκεν; ἔνεκεν is not used by Aristophanes or Demosthenes, and Brandwood (1976) records four examples of ἔνεκεν in Plato MSS.

<sup>743</sup> Data from Mauersberger (2003).

see *Dysk.* 448-9, *Mis.* 680-1, *Pk.* 331-2).<sup>744</sup> A more interesting alternative presents itself: this line is the only example of the preposition spoken by a human<sup>745</sup> woman.<sup>746</sup> Given the small number of female lines in Menander, the hypothesis that this reflects innovative language on the part of a female speaker remains merely a seductive possibility.<sup>747</sup>

### 3.7 Verbal morphology

#### 3.7.1 The 1<sup>st</sup> plural medio-passive ending

The 1Pl. medio-passive ending in classical Attic is usually  $-\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  (the I.-E. secondary ending). Concurrently, there existed an ending with a different metrical weight,  $-\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$  (the primary ending), which was used freely for metrical reasons in verse.<sup>748</sup> The form is rare in New Comedy; the following examples are attested:<sup>749</sup>

*Men. Asp.* 60 ἠθροίζόμεσθα

*Men. fr.*644 ἀπωλλύμεσθα

*Philemon fr.*72.2 βουλόμεσθα; *fr.*77.3 ἠλαττόμεσθα; *fr.*111.4 φεισόμεσθα;  
*fr.*145.2 (Grotius) εὐφραυνόμεσθα

*Euangelus* (3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.) *fr.*1. 3 βουλόμεσθα<sup>750</sup>

Gow argued that these endings are likely to be borrowed from ritual language, drawing attention to *Ar. Vesp.* 862, *Av.* 903 (both εὐζώμεσθα).<sup>751</sup> The point at

<sup>744</sup> The form is also not being used as a 'Hiattilgung', cf. Rosenkranz (1930) 149.

<sup>745</sup> *Pk.* 163 is spoken by Ignorance, apparently a female personage; but there might be good reasons not to characterise her speech as marked in terms of *human* categories (see further n.730).

<sup>746</sup> We do not know who spoke the book fragments; judging from the content, a man speaks *Georg.* fr.1.2, and by implication *fr.*723 which is similar in content. *Fr.*321.2 is less clear-cut.

<sup>747</sup> Bain (1984) does not discuss this feature.

<sup>748</sup> This ending does not seem to be used on the Attic inscriptions; it is not discussed in Threatte (1996).

<sup>749</sup> The forms are equally sparse in Middle Comedy: I find no example in Eubulus or Alexis, and in Antiphanes only *fr.*108.1.

<sup>750</sup> This form is also attested at Herondas 2. 9.

issue for Gow was the occurrence of εὐξώμεσθα in Machon, we might feel the explanation is a little too easily won; the reason the form is likely to originate from ritual language is its semantics, not its morphology. Applying the same account to the examples from New Comedy is however impossible; the example from the *Aspis* (which Gow did not know) seems particularly unmarked. It is striking that influence of the language of ritual is assumed both for the long dative plurals and these forms in –μεσθα. This would account for the occurrence of the ending with particular lexemes, but the generalisation of the ending into non-ritual vocabulary is difficult to account for; the relative frequency of the forms in Philemon, and the range of tenses which make use of the ending also suggest that the ending was less confined to a particular context than usually assumed. It should be noted that metrical convenience is also an insufficient explanation; for example, Menander might easily have written ἡθροίζόμεθα σύμπαντες at *Asp.* 60.

### 3.7.2 Imperfect of ἔρχομαι

In the classical period, the verb ‘to go’ is strongly suppletive. Most tenses are provided by εἶμι (present/future, imperfect) and avatars of the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>leud<sup>h</sup>*- (ἦλυθον, ἦλθον, ἐλεύσομαι); ἔρχομαι only formed a present indicative. There are some early examples of the imperfect and participle of compounds of ἔρχομαι.<sup>752</sup> However uncompounded forms are a feature of later texts, and are not known in the classical period. As a result, the form ἦρχετο at *Dysk.* 534 is the earliest

<sup>751</sup> Gow (1965) 88.

<sup>752</sup> Rutherford (1881) 106 knows of five exceptions in early Attic, all of which he removes by conjecture (Xenophon appears to use the imperfect rather more). Of these, Thuc. 4.121, Lys. 16.19, Antiph. 1.2.5 (ἐπεξερχόμενοι) are emended by editors; Thuc. 4. 120 is retained, and Ar. *Thes.* 504 is termed the ‘most plausible example’ by Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 219 (though I doubt the parallel from Menander cited by Austin/Olson (2004) 205 is sufficient to secure the term for Aristophanes; Rutherford (1881) 108 cites a range of conjectures). See Kühner/Blass (1982) 430.

attestation for the imperfect of ἔρχομαι.<sup>753</sup> This kind of regularisation is characteristic of a koineising variety; irregular ἰέναι becomes less frequent in the later language and is replaced by a regular paradigm of ἔρχομαι.<sup>754</sup>

### 3.7.3 Future tense

Attic Greek had several competing formations for the synthetic future. Contracted futures are attested, as in classical Attic, for verbs whose present stem is formed in –ίζω, cf. συνοικιεῖν (*Asp.* 10), ξενιεῖ (*Asp.* 379), βαδιούμεθα (*Dysk.* 480). They are also attested for liquid verbs (e.g. ἐμμενεῖν *Asp.* 157) and for verbs with future tenses formed to a suppletive liquid root (e.g. περιδραμοῦμαι *Mis.* 674). Although contracted futures normally have stems ending in <ε>, there are also examples of stems in –α– in the future, cf. ἀναπετῶ (fr.346).<sup>755</sup> Contracted futures had a tendency to spread in the late fifth century;<sup>756</sup> the situation in Menander is however more archaic, since contracted futures are restricted to primary verbs, while denominative verbs have sigmatic futures.<sup>757</sup>

A separate species of contracted future, namely Doric forms in \*–s<sup>e</sup>/ο–,<sup>758</sup> is also attested in Menander, cf. φευξοῦμεθα *Cith.* fr.3.1. This form is already attested in Euripides (*Med.* 341, 346, *Bacch.* 659), Aristophanes (*Ach.* 203, 1129, *Av.* 932) and Plato (*Lg.* 635c).<sup>759</sup> Of other verbs for which this suffix is attested in Attic, κλαίω has future κλάυσομαι in Menander (κλαυ[ *Mis.*621]); others are not attested.

<sup>753</sup> Ante-dating Phylarchus (3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C., *FGrH* 81 fr.44). Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 219 raise some scepticism about the presence of the form, but editors have left it as it is, Handley (1965) 228 calling attention to the Hellenistic usage.

<sup>754</sup> Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 75.

<sup>755</sup> This is a frequent pattern for verbs in –άννῶμι, Kühner/Blass (1892) 109; κρεμῶ from κρεμάννῶμι already Aristophanes (e.g. *Pl.* 312).

<sup>756</sup> Willi (2003) 249.

<sup>757</sup> Hauri (1975) 172; contrast 183 on the Septuagint (‘fast eine Umkehrung des attischen’).

<sup>758</sup> The suffix arose by contamination, whether within Greek (Weiss (2010) 118) or at an earlier stage (e.g. Sihler (1995) 557).

<sup>759</sup> Kühner/Blass (1892) 106 give full examples of this formation. Rutherford (1881) 91-95 is too sceptical about the use of Doric futures by Attic writers.

The Attic examples of this formation only take middle endings (active forms are attested in Doric); this form was not used in Ionic or the Koiné, and its presence is thus an index of Menander's Atticity.

Elsewhere, the sigmatic future remains by far the most common formation; to give examples would be otiose.

The creation of an explicitly marked passive in the future and aorist is a Greek innovation. The future passive formation, using the morpheme *-θησ-*, is attested in Menander (e.g. *εὔρεθήσεται Asp.* 154; *παραληφθήσεται Asp.* 339; *πεισθήσομαι Sam.* 667). On the other hand, the earlier situation, where the future middle was used in passive sense as well, is also still attested, thus *ὀδυνήσῃ* 'you will be hurt' fr.236.16.<sup>760</sup>

#### 3.7.4 Augment and Reduplication

The historic tenses in Greek (aorist, imperfect, pluperfect) were marked by an augment (*ἐ-*) prefixed to the stem.<sup>761</sup> In classical Greek, compound verbs had the augment infixed between preverb and verb; but in later periods, increased univerbation led to confusion about where to place the augment. This led to the augmentation of what, historically, were preverbs. The resulting loss of clarity in the positioning of the augment sometimes led to double augmentation.<sup>762</sup> In Menander *ἐπαρόφουον Pk.* 988 is an example of this stage of the process, which had begun earlier in the fourth century.<sup>763</sup> However, analogy could always reverse

<sup>760</sup> According to Schwyzer (1959) 756 this use of the future middle continued until the late fourth century.

<sup>761</sup> Unlike in tragedy, comic playwrights never omit the augment, unless by prodelision; see Lautensach (1899) 172-173.

<sup>762</sup> Rutherford (1881) 83; Lautensach (1899) 159-165; Schwyzer (1959) 656.

<sup>763</sup> Cf. Dem. 54.4 (*ἐπαρόφουον*).

the process: ἐνοχλέω usually has a double augment (Xen. *Cyr.* 5.3.56, Isoc. 5.53, Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 11.1) but Menander has ἐνώχλει *Dysk.* 680.<sup>764</sup>

The initial consonant of a preverb is sometimes reduplicated besides a temporal augment: πεπαρόνηκε *Dysk.* 93;<sup>765</sup> δεδιωκηκώς *Pk.* 272.<sup>766</sup> However both verbs are anomalous, since they are denominative; the reduplication is therefore expected, while the unexpected temporal augment rests on the analogy of genuine compound verbs.<sup>767</sup>

The augment in certain verbs is regularly lengthened in late fourth-century Attic; this development is also sporadically attested in the fifth century.<sup>768</sup> The verbs in question are μέλλω, βούλομαι, and δύναμαι; they are likely to have attracted the long augment on the analogy of ἐθέλω ~ ἠθέλησα ~ θέλω, spreading first to βούλομαι and thence to the other modal verbs, and in later periods still further afield.<sup>769</sup> This is however nowhere reflected by the language of Menander.<sup>770</sup> The disparity between Menander and the language of the inscriptions is striking;<sup>771</sup> however the generalisation of the vastly more common short syllabic augment is hardly an unexpected development, and does not need to be accounted for by dialect contact.

<sup>764</sup> This demonstrates the inadequacy of Lautensach's approach; his conclusion (165) that cases of doubled augment increase in comedy as compared with tragedy loses grit in the face of the frequent use of such forms in prose.

<sup>765</sup> Lautensach (1899) 163.

<sup>766</sup> Cf. Antiphanes fr.153 (but contrast fr.189.19 and the doubts of Lautensach (1899) 165). The Attic inscriptions only admit this phenomenon for ἀμφισβητέω, see Thraette (1996) 498.

<sup>767</sup> For this reanalysis of a denominative verb Lautensach (1899) 141-146, Schwyzer (1959) 656.

<sup>768</sup> Thraette (1996) 474 (Attic inscriptions from 350 B.C., the rule after 300 B.C.; note the higher dating than Schwyzer (1959). For Aristophanes and the fifth century see Willi (2003) 248.

<sup>769</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 654, labelling the development simply 'später'.

<sup>770</sup> Data for comedy in Arnott (2002) 196-7.

<sup>771</sup> The relevance of the Cretan perfect form ἡγαμμαι given by Buck (1955) 111 is unclear (cf. Schwyzer (1939) 650). Bile (1988) 223-224 points out that γεγραπτ[αι] is attested in the Archaic period, and that long augments in the perfect are otherwise unattested in Cretan. Perhaps it reflects a dialect contact situation. If it shows that the analogical development of the long syllabic augment could occur anywhere; by that argument, then this is simply not a safe criterion for dialectal interrelationships. The three canonical verbs are not attested in augmented tenses in Herondas.

## 3.7.5 Aorist formations

## 3.7.5.1 Generalisation of the sigmatic aorist endings

Greek in the classical period has several kinds of active aorist, the most common being the sigmatic ('weak') aorist and the thematic ('strong') aorist. Each verb generally selects one stem formation for its aorist. Already in the late classical period there is increasing interference between the two stems, usually with the result that the sigmatic aorist endings are adopted by the thematic aorist (the asigmatic *stem* is maintained). The beginnings of this development are found already in tragedy, Aristophanes and Plato, and the development attested in Menander continues into later Greek,<sup>772</sup> such that the change is termed a Koiné feature.<sup>773</sup> Scholars as a rule see the origins of the alpha thematic forms in Ionic.<sup>774</sup>

The most common verb illustrating this variation is εἶπα.<sup>775</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> sg. εἶπα *Pk.* 318, *Mis.* 54;<sup>776</sup> cf. compounds ὑπεἶπα *Asp.* 130; προσεἶπα *Dysk.* 106;

1<sup>st</sup> sg. εἶπον *Asp.* 65; *Dysk.* 256;

2<sup>nd</sup> sg. εἶπας *Pk.* 309; ὑπεἶπας *Asp.* 330;

2<sup>nd</sup> sg. aor. act. imperative εἶπον *Dysk.* 410, *Sam.* 489, fr.447;<sup>777</sup>

<sup>772</sup> Helbing (1907) 62-65 for the LXX, Mayser (1938) 143-145 for the papyri; note that Mayser's second stage ('der schwache (sigmatische) Aorist tritt für den starken ein') is not attested in Menander.

<sup>773</sup> Mayser (1938) 143, Schwyzer (1959) 745.

<sup>774</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 744-745, Horrocks (2010) 110; εἶπα, for example, occurs in Hdt. and Herondas, Lautensach (1911) 108.

<sup>775</sup> Lautensach (1911) 107-114; Arnott (2002) 198.

<sup>776</sup> For Lamagna (1994) 206 (on his 128) this is an Ionic form which replaced the Attic thematic aorist in the Koiné.

2<sup>nd</sup> sg. aor. act. imperative εἰπέ *Asp.* 85, 310 *Georg.* 33, *DE.* 104, *Dysk.* 233, 466, 510, 553, 590, 691 *Ep.* 237, 864, *Col.* 13, *Pk.* 383, 387, *Sam.* 170, 453, 483, 589, 677, 690, 692, *Sik.* 175, *Ph.* 67;

Nom. sg. m. aor. participle <ὕπ>εἶπας *Mis.* 52;<sup>778</sup> other participles (*Dysk.* 217, 322, *Pk.* 494 etc.), all infinitives, and the optative, are thematic

Lautensach's presentation sees a mixed paradigm already established in the fifth century: εἶπον and εἶπα coexisted, as did imperatives εἰπέ and εἶπον, but εἶπομεν and (3<sup>rd</sup> pl.) εἶπον never varied. The paradigm of ἦνεγκον is similar, for which the middle is almost invariably alpha-thematic; this form was restored by Kaibel in fr.296.11.<sup>779</sup> Elsewhere, Menander apparently preferred the thematic aorist,<sup>780</sup> to judge from the imperatives ἐξένεγκε (*Pk.* 755, *Sam.* 579), ἔνεγκε (*Asp.* 261, *Sam.* 660, fr.857. 1),<sup>781</sup> infinitive ὑπενεγκεῖν (*Dysk.* 905), and participle ἐπανενεγκών (*Asp.* 178);<sup>782</sup> but there is support from the middle imperative διενεγκάτω (*Ench.* 17) and infinitive ἐνέγκα[σθαι] (*Ep.* 788 Römer).<sup>783</sup>

The coexistence of thematic active and alpha-thematic middle forms led to analogical rebuilding of strong aorist paradigms; the *verba liquida* provided additional analogical pressure.<sup>784</sup> The final example in Menander is ἐξηύρατο

<sup>777</sup> The fragment is quoted by Choeroboscus, whose commentary on it assures the interpretation of the form as an imperative. Cf. *Diph.* fr.31.8, Lautensach (1911) 111 ('in der dramatischen Literatur erst in der neuen Komödie').

<sup>778</sup> Cf. Dionysius fr.2.2, Philemon fr.42.1, Demonicus fr.1.3.

<sup>779</sup> Other editors follow suit; cf. Lautensach (1911) 101-107, esp. 106 on the middle ('ungleich häufiger als ἦνεγκόμεν').

<sup>780</sup> Perhaps following tragic usage; see Lautensach (1911) 102, and Bekker (1814) 98 for the Antiatticist's prescription (citing Sophocles).

<sup>781</sup> The sigmatic aorist ending is first attested in Anaxippus fr.8.2 and LXX, *Gen.* 27:7.

<sup>782</sup> Contrast εἰσενέγκας Demetrius *Iun.* fr.1.10.

<sup>783</sup> Furley (2009) 65 already restored an alpha thematic optative ἐνέγκα[ι] here.

<sup>784</sup> See Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 63-4.

(fr.125.4);<sup>785</sup> the active ἤϋρα is first attested in the New Testament, and must have been back-formed from the middle.<sup>786</sup>

### 3.7.5.2 Paradigm levelling in the aorist stem

The earliest attested aorist of the verb γαμέω is alpha-thematic ἔγημα. In later periods, this is replaced by synchronically regular ἐγάμησα (cf. ποιέω: ἐποίησα).<sup>787</sup> In Menander, the vast majority of aorist forms of this verb are formed to the stem -γημ-.<sup>788</sup> There is one exception:

(1) ἐγάμησεν ἦν ἐβουλόμην ἐγώ (fr.661) ‘he married the girl I wanted’

There has been some debate about whether this form can be genuine. Blass, for example, thought it was transitive (‘marry someone to another’ – a father, perhaps, hoping to marry a girl he married to his son?);<sup>789</sup> but Kassel / Austin point out that he was unable to adduce a parallel for this sense.<sup>790</sup>

A handful of Greek verbs had unusual irregular forms in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. aorist active. These were archaisms preserved by the (non-productive) athematic verbs (the δίδωμι type). In Menander, there is a single scrap of evidence that their paradigms had been levelled, namely the form ἐξεδώκατε at *FI*. 51 (for earlier – ἔδοτε). It is difficult to make anything of this one form, however; Isaeus 5.28 has

<sup>785</sup> This is the testimony of all the MS, which are only divided in the presence or absence of the augment. Meineke’s correction ἐξέϋρετο is not followed by K.-A. The participle εὐράμενος (not εὐράμην as per LSJ) is already found in all the witnesses to Hes.fr.235.3 M.-W., who however follow Fischer’s emendation to εὐρόμενος (contra, e.g., Goettling (1843) 269). Given the time gap involved between Hesiod and the first attestation of ἤϋρα this seems the wisest course. The examples in Menander by contrast probably indicate how early the forms spread in spoken Greek.

<sup>786</sup> It is difficult to know what to make of ἐνέπεσαν in the transmitted text of Philemon fr.126.3 (corrected to ἐνέπεσον K.-A.). Clement of Alexandria, who quotes the fragment, writes ἐπεσον as a rule; it is therefore not impossible that Philemon already used the later form, in spite of his generally more conservative language. Differently Lautensach (1911) 115 (‘nicht in den Texten der Dramatiker zu dulden’); ἐπεσαν first attested in Polybius, see de Foucault (1972) 71.

<sup>787</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 755 gives details of this process for many other verbs.

<sup>788</sup> *Contra* Vessella (2008) 331.

<sup>789</sup> Kühner/Blass (1892) 388.

<sup>790</sup> Kassel/Austin (1998) 333 *ad loc.*

ἀπέδωκαμεν besides ἐπέδομεν 2.5, Hyperides [περι]έθηκαν 6.19 besides κατέθεσαν in the same section.<sup>791</sup> Apparently, then, allomorphy had been the rule for much of the fourth century.<sup>792</sup>

For the aorist formations of liquid verbs, see §3.4.5.1.9 above.

### 3.7.6 Perfect tense

Greek inherited from the parent language three separate kinds of verbal system: the present-imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect systems. Broadly these three categories corresponded to imperfective (durative), perfective (punctual) and stative aspects.<sup>793</sup> The perfect tense originally expresses a state of the subject, but becomes increasingly transitive over the course of the history of Greek.<sup>794</sup> As a result, the perfect and aorist become functionally indistinct; there are signs of this neutralisation in the late fifth century already,<sup>795</sup> while the perfect becomes rare as a category in the later Koiné;<sup>796</sup> eventually the perfect was lost, leaving only a few isolated forms with aoristic value.<sup>797</sup>

Whatever the evidence from Demosthenes, the case of Menander must be examined on its own merits; we cannot assume that the genres of oratory and comedy will reflect the same situation, or even that one will consistently be more conservative than the other. The exhaustive study of the perfect tense by Goldberg

<sup>791</sup> Pohle (1928) 24.

<sup>792</sup> As a result, the statement of Threatte (1996) 42 that ἐπέδωκαν would be unusual in a 4<sup>th</sup> c. Attic text, and that *SEG* 2.121 cannot therefore be dated to 350 B.C., must be revised; this also has consequences for the Attic declension, see §3.4.5 above.

<sup>793</sup> This is broadly based on Hoffmann (1970).

<sup>794</sup> The details of this are controversial. See in the first instance Wackernagel (1904), challenged by Sicking / Stork (1996). Willi (2003) 130-132 gives a useful synthesis and a plausible account of the development of the resultative perfect.

<sup>795</sup> Chantraine (1927) 184-188.

<sup>796</sup> In the Septuagint, the perfect is confined to books with more conservative language (Job, II-IV Macc., Wisdom of Solomon); see Meister (1907) 251.

<sup>797</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 779.

drew attention to several features of Menander's use of the perfect aligning his usage with the classical rather than the Hellenistic period.<sup>798</sup> This section will take its cue from Goldberg, but will not presume to replace her detailed presentation.

The justification for inclusion of the discussion of the perfect here is the apparent creation of new perfect forms, seemingly pointing to a new functionalisation of the category in the post-classical period.<sup>799</sup> The first table represents what might be taken to be fully fledged new perfects, formed to verbs that do not have an earlier attested perfect of any kind:<sup>800</sup>

ἀνοίγω	ἀνέωχα ἀνέωγα	fr.170 fr.184
ἀφαιρέομαι	ἀφήρηται	<i>Asp.</i> 225
βωλοκοπέω	βεβωλοκόπηκεν	<i>Dysk.</i> 515
ἐκχέω	ἐκκέχυκας	fr.442.2 <sup>801</sup>
ἐνθριώω	ἐντεθρίωκεν	<i>Sam.</i> 586
ἐνσειώω	ἐνσέσεικα	<i>Dysk.</i> 581 <sup>802</sup>
καταδουλόω	καταδεδούλωκε	<i>Mis. fr.</i> 4.1 <sup>803</sup>
καταλιπαρέω	καταλελιπαρήκατε <sup>804</sup>	<i>Sam.</i> 721
καταπέτομαι	κατέπτηκεν	<i>Col.</i> 40
κηδεύω	κεκήδευκε	<i>Ep.</i> 690 <sup>805</sup>

<sup>798</sup> Goldberg (1996) 1-224.

<sup>799</sup> Wackernagel (1904) 14.

<sup>800</sup> This list is based on the data in Goldberg (1996) 30-36; see 36-51 for a complete catalogue of perfect forms in Menander with philological commentary. Goldberg (1996) 32 includes the form ἐξίσασκε (*Ep.* 792), first attestation of the perfect of ἐξισάζω; *P.Oxy.* 3533 has ξίσακε. The new *Epitrepointes* fragments have shown that this was not correctly restored; the line ended with a perfect participle (Römer (2012a) 115 restores κατακεκ[[δ]]ομμένη[ς]).

<sup>801</sup> The medio-passive of this verb is attested earlier; see Wackernagel (1904) 15 for the rôle of the medio-passive perfect in the formation of the new resultative perfects.

<sup>802</sup> Cf. Philemon fr.87.2.

<sup>803</sup> Medio-passive forms of this verb are found earlier.

<sup>804</sup> Sommerstein notes that this is 'the earliest surviving attestation of this verb by nearly half a millennium' (2013) 315.

<sup>805</sup> Wilamowitz' conjecture κεκήδευκός is now disproved by papyrus evidence.

κινέω	κεκίνηκα	fr.31
κίχρημι	κέχρηκεν	fr.350.2
λαλέω	έλάληκα	<i>Dysk.</i> 9; <i>Pk.</i> 320, 347, 509; <i>Sik.</i> fr.11.6
όδυνάω	ώδύνηκε	<i>Asp.</i> 371
πλήττω	πέπληχε	<i>Dysk.</i> 188; <i>Ep.</i> 906; <i>Sam.</i> 301, 367, 555
σπείρω	έσπαρκε	<i>Mis.</i> 634
συγγέω	συγκέχυκε	fr.746
συμπείθω	συμπέποιθα	<i>Sik.</i> 260 <sup>806</sup>
συμπείθομαι	συμπέπεισμαι	<i>Dysk.</i> 818
χειμάζομαι	κεχειμάσται	<i>Car.</i> 6
ψοφέω	έψόφηκε	<i>Dysk.</i> 204, <i>Ep.</i> 875, <i>Car.</i> 4, <i>Sam.</i> 669, fr.883 <sup>807</sup>

The next table lists perfects of compound verbs for which no perfect is previously attested with the particular preverb, but which already had a firmly established perfect either in other compound forms or in the simplex; and simplex perfects for which non-finite perfect forms were attested at an earlier stage:<sup>808</sup>

ἀγοράζω	ἠγόρακα	<i>Sik.</i> 14, fr.280.2 <sup>809</sup>
ἀνατρέπομαι	ἀνατέτραπται	<i>Sam.</i> 548
ἀπολαμβάνομαι	ἀπειλήμμαι	<i>Col.</i> fr.5.2
ἀπονοέομαι	ἀπονενόησθε	<i>Pk.</i> 375
ἀποπέμπω	ἀποπέπομφε	<i>Asp.</i> 313
ἀποσώζω	ἀποσέσωκε	<i>Ep.</i> 1108
ἀριστάω	ἠριστήκατε	<i>Dysk.</i> 779 <sup>810</sup>

<sup>806</sup> This form is not paralleled by other compounds; simplex *πέπευκα* is also used by Menander, e.g. *Dysk.* 38.

<sup>807</sup> The form is also found in (undated) comic adespota, fr.1014.4, fr.1071.4.

<sup>808</sup> The perfect of *λοιδορέομαι* was conjectured by Körte at *Con.* 13; if correct, this would be the first attestation of a finite perfect.

<sup>809</sup> *Contra de Foucault* (1972) 75, Polybius was not the first writer to use the perfect of verbs in –άζω.

<sup>810</sup> Shortened forms of the perfect are attested in Ar. fr.513 (*ἠρίσταμεν*), Hermippus fr.60 (*ἠριστάναι*).

ἀφυβρίζω	ἀφύβρικα	fr.281
διευτυχέω	διευτύκηχεν	<i>Dysk.</i> 486
ἐγκλείομαι	ἐγκέκλεισαι	<i>Asp.</i> 345
εἰσπηδάω	εἰσπεπήδηκεν	<i>Dysk.</i> 602, <i>Sam.</i> 564
εἰστρέχω	εἰσδεδράμηκεν	<i>Sam.</i> 361
ἐκκλείω	ἐκκέκλεικε	<i>Sam.</i> 416 <sup>811</sup>
ἐκλακτίζω	ἐκλελάκτικεν	fr.20.1
ἐκπέμπω	ἐκπέπομφε	<i>Pk.</i> 178
ἐκπηδάω	ἐκπεπηδήκασι	<i>Pk.</i> 527
ἐμβροντάομαι	ἐμβεβρόντησαι	<i>Georg.</i> fr.4.1, <i>Col.</i> 63
ἐπακούω	ἐπακήκοα	<i>Dysk.</i> 821
ἐπικαύομαι	ἐπικέκαυται	<i>Dysk.</i> 754
κατατίθημι	κατατέθηκεν	<i>Dysk.</i> 920
λυπέω	λελύπηκας	<i>Pk.</i> 494
περισπάομαι	περιέσπασμαι	<i>Ep.</i> 360
πταίω	ἔπταικεν	<i>Ep.</i> 821
σκευάζω	ἔσκεύακεν	<i>Sam</i> 599 <sup>812</sup>
ὕπακούω	ὕπακήκοα	<i>Dysk.</i> 494
ὕπεκδύομαι	ὕπέκδεδυκα	<i>Ep.</i> 904
ὕπερχομαι	ὕπελήλυθεν	fr.388.1

Some perfects in Menander represent morphological innovations.<sup>813</sup> In *Mis.* fr.13, the Antiatticist has preserved ἀπέκταγκα as the perfect form of ἀποκτείνω, to which compare ἀποπέφαγκα in Dinarchus 1.15. The nasal here is part of the root, but in many early candidates for this formation the sequence [ηka] was remade; the retention of the nasal is commoner in perfects formed in the post-classical

<sup>811</sup> The perfect of the simplex is attested in Theophrastus.

<sup>812</sup> Cf. n.809 above.

<sup>813</sup> Compare the innovations in perfect morphology in Menander's near contemporary Hyperides, Pohle (1928) 27-8.

period.<sup>814</sup> Forms of this kind show that the active perfect was in many cases derived from the medio-passive perfect.<sup>815</sup>

An innovation of the classical language was the aspirate perfect (ending in  $-\theta\alpha$ ,  $-\varphi\alpha$ ,  $-\chi\alpha$ ).<sup>816</sup> Aspirate perfects continued being created in the post-classical period; thus the perfect of ἀνοίγνῶμι is found with an aspirate suffix (ἀνέωχα fr.170) and with a voiced stop (ἀνέωγα fr.184).<sup>817</sup> Save for a participle in ps.-Dem. [42].30.4, the examples in Menander are the first attestations of this verb.

In Homer, γίγνομαι forms an archaic *o*-grade perfect γέγονα. This form persists in later epic (Empedocles), and can be found rarely in Attic prose and verse. The more common form in Attic is an innovative passive formation γεγένημαι, presumably based on the thematic aorist ἐγένετο. Menander attests both forms.<sup>818</sup>

However the range of forms he uses indicates that γέγονα has become the unmarked form; γεγένημαι is the recessive variant, occurring only four times in the text of Menander.<sup>819</sup> With one exception, γεγένημαι is only used in the participle.<sup>820</sup> In Polybius, and the New Testament, γέγονα is by far the commoner form, and the status of γεγένημαι is frequently textually disputed.<sup>821</sup>

This is a striking example of the way in which Menander agrees with later Greek against his contemporaries, and thus represents a good example of the relation

<sup>814</sup> Kühner/Blass (1892) 171, §267.2.

<sup>815</sup> Wackernagel (1904) 16 compares Homeric πέφανται.

<sup>816</sup> For the post-Homeric status of this perfect, Kühner/Blass (1892) 96, §223.3. The origin of the formation is disputed; see Sihler (1995) 574, §517.

<sup>817</sup> Goldberg (1996) 30.

<sup>818</sup> See Goldberg (1996) 49 for a dossier of finite forms.

<sup>819</sup> *Ep.* 306; *Col.* 2; *Mis.* 406; *Sam.* 600; restored in *Pk.* 777, on which see the next note.

<sup>820</sup> The exception is itself highly questionable, since the form is restored in *Pk.* 777 (the papyrus has only ]α).

<sup>821</sup> De Foucault (1972) 76; Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 74 n.17.

between Menander's language and that of the Koiné. The following table allows us to compare Menander and the authors nearest to him chronologically:

	γέγονα	%	γεγένημαι	%
Tragedy (A., S., E.)	x 8	66.6	x 4	33.3
Aristophanes	x 11	28	x 28	72
Plato	x 657	97	x 20	3
Lysias	x 34	22	x 123	78
Isocrates	x 145	40	x 218	60
Demosthenes	x 267	61	x 172	39
Dinarchus	x 13	21	x 50	79
Menander	x 79	95	x 4	5
LXX <sup>822</sup>	x 43	74	x 15	26

The two forms seem to have been interchangeable through much of the late fifth and fourth centuries. Individual authors tend, in general, to prefer one form over another; we gain an insight into the idiolects available to Attic literature. It is striking however that Menander's usage is the reverse of his exact contemporary Dinarchus, while corresponding more to that of the slightly later Septuagint.

These data imply that the perfect as a category had become, at least pragmatically, more frequent by the time Menander was writing; changes in perfect morphology also imply that the category was still being used, since moribund categories tend not to be rebuilt. This might be taken to indicate that the difference between perfect and aorist had begun to be neutralised, leading to more frequent use of the perfect as a past narrative tense. The more frequent use of the perfect also means that there are more examples of the perfect used transitively and in narrative

<sup>822</sup> Figures based on Meister (1907) 251, who comments that II-IV Macc., three of the more conservative books, γεγένημαι is used in preference to γέγονα (x 1, γεγονότας).

contexts; both of these represent departures from classical usage.<sup>823</sup> These developments are usually associated with Hellenistic language, primarily papyrus and inscriptional texts.<sup>824</sup> There is therefore a *prima facie* case that the perfect in Menander represents precisely this development.

However, the collocations of perfect tenses with adverbs usually employed with primary verbs gives us pause.<sup>825</sup> Moreover, those perfects in Menander which are transitive can be shown only to be weakly transitive. Since one of the preconditions for the reanalysis of the perfect as a transitive form was the tendency towards telicity of transitive verbs,<sup>826</sup> the weak transitivity of transitive perfects in Menander may prevent us seeing the ways in which the perfect has developed.

### 3.7.7 Imperatives

The particular forms at issue here are the athematic imperatives that in later Attic were remade to resemble the imperatives of contracted verbs. There is a well-known note on this citing Menander in the Antiatticist:

ἀνάβα, κατάβα, διάβα, ἀπόστα· Μένανδρος Ἐπικλήρω· ὄρα σὺ καὶ φρόντιζε κάποστα βραχὺ (Antiatt. 81. 12 Bekker = fr.134 K.-A.)

As usual, the testimony of the Antiatticist is difficult to interpret. What is certain is that these imperatives really were used by Menander (cf. *κατάβα*, *Dysk.* 633; *παράστα*, *Theoph.* 28; *ἀπόστα*, fr.278); on the other hand forms of this kind are attested as early as Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 979, *Ran.* 35), in Alexis (fr.14), and in the

<sup>823</sup> Goldberg (1996) 151-155, 195-222.

<sup>824</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 287.

<sup>825</sup> Goldberg (1996) 95.

<sup>826</sup> Willi (2003) 131-2.

later Koiné; why Menander is singled out is thus unclear.<sup>827</sup> We cannot therefore accept this as an example of linguistic innovation in Menander.

The situation is rather different in the third person imperative:

περιμαξάτωσαν (*Ph.* 54); περιθεωσάτωσαν (*Ph.* 55)

The endings used here differ from the earlier Attic endings in pres. –όντων, aor. –άντων. The new endings developed out of a perceived ‘pluralising’ function of the ending –σαν (cf. proportions of the kind –θη :: –θησαν). The morphologically isolated classical endings for the third person plural imperative pres. –όντων, aor. –άντων were remade by adding the ‘pluralising’ morpheme –σαν to the third person singular imperative in –έτω or –άτω.<sup>828</sup> Presumably this was aided by the proportion –ε :: –ετε in the second person, where a pluralising marker seemed to be added to the singular form. For the testimony of the inscriptions, this reanalysis seems to have been well on the way by 352/1 B.C., when the first inscriptional examples come to light.<sup>829</sup> The text of Hyperides already has several examples.<sup>830</sup>

### 3.7.8 Optative

Within some two hundred years of Menander’s death the optative was no longer an inflectional category; only the most literary prose of the NT, for example, still uses it.<sup>831</sup> By contrast, the optative is still basically functional in Menander’s text,

<sup>827</sup> ANABA is also found on a vase inscription, Kretschmer (1894) 196-7; see Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 70 n.7 and Niehoff-Panagiotidis (1994) 214.

<sup>828</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 802 on ‘äußere Pluralisierung’.

<sup>829</sup> Thraette (1996) 463-4, López Eire (1999) 90-91; for Polybius, de Foucault (1972) 73.

<sup>830</sup> Pohle (1928) 26; Pohle quotes Moeris, who considered the –όντων endings Attic and the –έτωσαν endings Koiné (Ἑλληνες in his terminology).

<sup>831</sup> Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 52, on the syntactical contexts of the optative 311-313. McKay (1993) 24-26 gives a brief but tendentious account of the optative in New Testament Greek.

cf. *Dysk.* 626f. (final clause), *Ep.* 455f. (potential conditional).<sup>832</sup> Despite this functionality, Menander is good evidence for the preconditions of the optative's eventual disappearance. In theory, the loss of the optative might be explained in morphological, phonological, or syntactic terms. Because of the evidence presented in the previous section that the diphthong /oi/ was still intact, phonological motivations may be assumed to be fairly unimportant. Syntactic issues will be raised in the next chapter. Our question here is whether the optative's disappearance was conditioned by morphological factors.

In paradigms of the sigmatic aorist, the verb 'to be' and the *e*-contracted verbs, the Classical Greek optative existed in two alternative forms:

Sigmatic aorist	2Sg. λύσειας, 3Sg. λύσειε, 3Pl. λύσειαν <sup>833</sup>	2Sg. λύσαις, 3Sg. λύσαι, 3Pl. λύσαιεν
εἶμι	1Pl. εἶμεν, 2Pl. εἶτε	1Pl. εἶημεν, 2Pl. εἶητε
Contracted verbs in -έω	1Sg. ποιήην, 2Sg. ποιήης, 3Sg. ποιήη	1Sg. ποιῶμι, 2Sg. ποιῶς, 3Sg. ποιῶ

This polymorphy might well be a candidate for future weakening of the optative as morphological complexity is abandoned during the development of the Koiné.

Indeed, on examination of the data presented below,<sup>834</sup> we do seem to see the gaps expected by this theory:

Present Optatives
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<sup>832</sup> Full syntactic analysis of subordinate clauses is undertaken in the Syntax chapter below, and see §4.5 for a summary of optative syntax.

<sup>833</sup> These endings are sometimes referred to in the literature as the 'Aeolic' endings following Choeroboscus (564-5 Hilgard). See Forbes (1958) for a good survey of the explanations and distribution of the category, ignored by Sihler (1995) 598; further Taillardat (1967), Jasanoff (1991) 116-121, Kortlandt (1992).

<sup>834</sup> In the table, bold forms are accompanied by ᾶν. Some of the forms which are not in bold may originally have had ᾶν but are in lacunose contexts (e.g. *Her.* 48, 49); often these contexts are so damaged that the presence or absence of the modal particle would still not help us say anything very detailed about the syntax of the verb.

	Active	Medio-Passive
1 Sg.	<b>ἔχοιμι</b> <i>Pk.</i> 789; <i>Sam.</i> 430; <i>Sik.</i> 271, 374; <b>λέγοιμι</b> fr.199; ὑγαινοίμι <i>Dysk.</i> 733	<b>βουλοίμην</b> <i>Ep.</i> 541
	<b>ποιόην</b> <i>Sam.</i> 460; ζῶην <i>Sam.</i> 728	
2 Sg.	διαμένοις <i>Dysk.</i> 771; <b>ἔχῃς</b> <i>Asp.</i> 369, <i>Pk.</i> 820, fr.835.6; <b>φέρῃς</b> fr.842	<b>κρίνοιο</b> <i>Ep.</i> 714 (Furley); ὄναιο <i>Pk.</i> 400;
	<b>βιῶης</b> <i>Asp.</i> 458; εὐτυχοίης <i>Dysk.</i> 299; φοροίης <i>Dysk.</i> 949; φθονοίης <i>Dysk.</i> 802	
3 Sg.	<b>δεικνύοι</b> <i>Ep.</i> 456; <b>ἔχοι</b> fr.133.1; λέγοι <i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.1; <b>λέγοι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 152; προσφέροι <i>Ep.</i> 455; πλάττοι fr.777.1; τρέχοι <i>Mis.</i> 800; σφάττοι <i>Sam.</i> 608	ἔποιτο <i>Dysk.</i> 969, <i>Mis.</i> 996, <i>Sam.</i> 737, <i>Sik.</i> 423, fr.903.21, fr.908.8; σῶζοιτο <i>Her.</i> 48; <b>πράττοιτο</b> <i>Asp.</i> 188
Sigmatic Aorist Optatives		
	Active	Middle
1 Sg.	νομίσαμι <i>Asp.</i> 498; <b>ἀδικήσαμι</b> <i>Georg.</i> 16; <b>ἐπιτρέψαμι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 611; θύσαμι <i>Her.</i> 51; <b>θύσαμι</b> <i>Mis.</i> 89; <b>θαυμάσαμι</b> <i>Mis.</i> 670	
2 Sg.	<b>ἄφελκύσαις</b> <i>Sik.</i> 60; δείξαις <i>Pk.</i> 721; <b>διακόψαις</b> <i>Sik.</i> 418; <b>ἐθελήσαις</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 269; θεωρήσαις <i>Pk.</i> 516; πείσαις <i>Ep.</i> 713 (Furley); <b>συνδιορθώσαις</b> <i>Pk.</i> 351; <b>σχολάσαις</b> <i>Ep.</i> 224; <b>φράσαις</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 511	
3 Sg.	<b>σώσαι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 203; <b>ἀναγκάσαι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 251; ἐξετάσαι <i>Sam.</i> 141; <b>μεταπείσαι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 252; <b>καταπαύσαι</b> fr.65.5; <b>ποιήσαι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 335, <i>Sam.</i> 366, 685; ἀπολέσαι <i>Ep.</i> 425, <i>Sam.</i> 689	
	<b>ἀποκτείνειεν</b> <i>Ep.</i> 903; <b>βοηθήσειεν</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 620, 621; <b>ἐλεήσειε</b> <i>Ep.</i> 855; <b>εἰκάσειε</b> <i>Ep.</i> 882; καταμε[ίνε]ιε <i>Ep.</i> 690; κερδάνειε <i>Ep.</i> 335; <b>στήσειεν</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 915, 929; <b>ὑπομείνειε</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 368	
2 Pl.	<b>διασώσαι[τε]</b> <i>Pn.</i> 5	
3 Pl.	<b>ἀπολέσειαν</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 139, 221, 927; <b>ποιήσειαν</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 313	
Thematic Aorist Optatives		
	Active	Middle

1 Sg.	<p><b>ἀποθάνοιμι</b> <i>Sam.</i> 552; ἔλθοιμι <i>Cith.</i> 56; <b>ἐνλίποιμι</b> <i>Pk.</i> 981; ἐπίδοιμι <i>Mis.</i> fr.7.1; εὔροιμι <i>Ep.</i> 869; <b>ἴδοιμι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 659; λάβοιμι <i>Mis.</i> fr.7.2, <i>Ep.</i> 549; <b>λάβοιμι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 349; προσλάβοιμι <i>Ep.</i> 566; τύχοιμι <i>Cith.</i> 55</p>			<p>ἀπολο[ίμην] <i>Dysk.</i> 95 (nisi ἀπολο[ύμεθα]), <i>Ep.</i> 1063; γενοίμην <i>Ep.</i> 548, <i>Sam.</i> 504; <b>πυθοίμην</b> <i>Ep.</i> 481</p>
	<p>Root aor. <b>διαγνοίην</b> <i>Ep.</i> 389; <b>γνοίην</b> <i>Ep.</i> 484;</p>			
2 Sg.	<p><b>ἀποθάνεις</b> <i>Ep.</i> 470; ἐπιτύχοις <i>Dysk.</i> 381; <b>εὔροις</b> fr.91.2, fr.236.5; καταλίποις <i>DE.</i> 14; λάβοις <i>Ep.</i> 549, <i>Sam.</i> 89 ([λα]); <b>λάβοις</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 349; <b>συλλάβοις</b> <i>Sam.</i> 152; [τ]ύχοις <i>Mis.</i> 812</p>			<p><b>αἴσθοιο</b> <i>Sam.</i> 152; ἀπόλοιο <i>Asp.</i> 238, <i>Dysk.</i> 487, <i>Mis.</i> 95, <i>Sam.</i> 367; <b>ἀπόσχοιο</b> <i>Sam.</i> 501; ἐπιλάβοιο fr.420.9; ἴκοιο <i>Pk.</i> 322, <i>Ph.</i> 44</p>
3 Sg.	<p>ἀποθάνοι <i>Sam.</i> 607; ἐξέλκοι <i>Dysk.</i> 626; <b>εἴποι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 304, <i>Mis.</i> 55, fr.362.5; εὔροι <i>Sik.</i> 54; <b>ἴδοι</b> <i>Asp.</i> 435; καταφάγοι fr.247.4; <b>λάβοι</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 511, <i>Mis.</i> 703, λάβοι fr.63; <b>πάθοι</b> <i>Ph.</i> 8; <b>ὑπολάβοι</b> <i>Col.</i> 97; τύχοι <i>Dysk.</i> 367</p>			<p>ἀπόλοιο fr.119.1; γένοιο <i>Asp.</i> 283, <i>DE.</i> 111, <i>DE.</i> fr.6; <i>Dysk.</i> 158, 301, 924; <i>Ep.</i> 159, 265, 358, 362, 1071; <i>Mis.</i> 665; <i>Pk.</i> 287, 403, 720; <i>Sam.</i> 728; <i>Sik.</i> 266, 380; <b>γένοιο</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 21, 159, 188; <i>Sam.</i> 102; <i>Sik.</i> 162; fr.400.1, fr.685.2, fr.777.2, fr.845.2; <b>περιγένοιο</b> <i>Asp.</i> 316</p>
1 Pl.	<p>εὔρομεν <i>Mis.</i> 476</p>			
2 Pl.	<p>ἀπόλοισθε <i>Dysk.</i> 442; γένοισθε <i>Dysk.</i> 565;</p>			
3 Pl.	<p>εὔροισεν <i>Pk.</i> 167</p>			
Aorist Passive Optatives				
1 Sg.	<p><b>ἀποσφαγείην</b> <i>Ep.</i> 401</p>			
2 Sg.	<p>ἐκκορηθείης <i>Georg.</i> 53; <b>εἰσθείης</b> <i>Ep.</i> 721 (Furley); σωθείης fr.64.5</p>			
3 Sg.	<p><b>προσενεχθείη</b> <i>Asp.</i> 96; δεηθείη <i>Pk.</i> 138; <b>σωθείη</b> <i>Ep.</i> 719 (Furley);</p>			
1 Pl.	<p>σωθείημεν fr.644</p>			
Irregular, Defective verbs				
	εἰμί	δύναμι	δίδωμι	ἴημι
1 Sg.		<b>δυναίμην</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 145, 444, 826; <i>Ep.</i> 499; <i>Mis.</i> 609;		καθυφείμην <i>Ep.</i> 402;
3 Sg.	<b>εἴη</b> <i>Asp.</i> 212; <i>Georg.</i> 34; <i>Cith.</i> 53; <i>Mis.</i> 90; εἴη <i>Her.</i> 49; fr.222	δύναιτο <i>Dysk.</i> 711, 894; fr.298.5;	<b>μεταδοίη</b> <i>Dysk.</i> 569; <b>ἐκδοίη</b> fr.97.2; <b>ἀποδοίη</b> fr.907.6	

1 Pl.				<b>ἀφείητε</b> <i>Pn. 4, 6</i>
3 Pl.		<b>δύναιντο</b> <i>Pk. 528;</i>		

At first blush, the forms which were polymorphic in classical times seem distinctly weak. Of only twelve plural forms, a third are part of formulaic curse expressions (and therefore may have been preserved for pragmatic reasons rather than by the functioning of the optative as a category). The present optative of contracted verbs also looks initially as though it has begun to fade.

This gains some credence since the aorist optative *does* seem to have made a selection among its forms. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. and 3<sup>rd</sup> pl., the endings *-αις* and *-ειαν* have been generalised, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. is more or less evenly split between *-αι* and *-ειε(v)*.<sup>835</sup> We can hypothesise that the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. is preferred due to pressure from the 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-αιτε* (cf. thematic optative 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. *-οις* :: 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. *-οιτε*); the 3<sup>rd</sup> person endings are more difficult to account for.<sup>836</sup>

However, contracted verbs are equally frequent in the present, which is supposed to be problematic, as in the aorist, which is not; the frequency with which they are used in the optative is not therefore morphologically conditioned. In a similar vein, plural verb forms tend to be rare in dramatic texts (no doubt in part because ancient drama allowed only three actors). The absence of plural forms may therefore be governed less by the attrition of the optative than by the extra-linguistic conditions of a dramatic genre. Our conclusion must therefore be that

<sup>835</sup> The endings seem to be equivalent in frequency and distribution in Polybius as well, see de Foucault (1972) 73.

<sup>836</sup> In total, the difference between the ‘Aeolic’ endings and the short type is less significant (1.3: 1) than Sommerstein (2013) 148 suggests.

morphological factors did not have any influence on the early disappearance of the optative.<sup>837</sup>

Syntactic criteria confirm the insufficiency of morphological explanations. Conditional sentences in Greek show four canonical structural patterns, but can also mix constructions in each clause. If plural optatives are really being avoided, mixed conditionals should occur under those circumstances in which a plural optative needs to be used. But precisely because plural forms are so rare, there is no evidence that a mixed conditional is ever used to avoid a plural optative (which one might have hypothesised otherwise). Since there is at most one example which can be interpreted in this way (*Asp.* 433ff.), but need not be, this cannot be taken as evidence for a morphological weakening of the optative.

Blaming morphology, then, will not do. Rather, in conducting our investigation in this way we have put the cart before the horse: the reason the oblique optative eventually vanished was the restricted and hence pragmatically unusual circumstances in which it could appear. The speakers of Menandrian dialogue are perfectly capable of forming optatives; but in their conversation they have little need to do so. Syntactic investigation will be needed to put more shape around this particular feature of Menander's language; this will be a recurring theme of Chapter Four.

### 3.7.9 Thematicisation of athematic verbs.

Certain athematic verbs tended to be thematicised in the history of Greek; this development particularly affected the verbs in  $-\nu\bar{\nu}\mu$ .<sup>838</sup> Although these verbs are

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<sup>837</sup> At a later period, this is rather different, as certain morphological categories are attested much longer than others; see Schwyzer (1959) 337-8.

rare in Menander, and therefore do not allow any precise quantitative analysis, this process of thematisation can be traced in his language. It should be noted however that the thematic endings of  $-v\bar{o}\mu\iota$  verbs had already been attested for a long time in the history of Greek; the athematic endings thus represent a more striking archaism than the thematic endings an innovation.<sup>839</sup>

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota$  fr.420.3, *Ep.* 437, 1106;<sup>840</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\nu$  fr.401.3 (emendation of MS  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\upsilon\omicron\nu$  by Bentley, as the first person makes no sense). Contrast  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$  (fr.644).

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\nu\mu\iota$  is not used by Menander, only thematic  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\gamma\omega$  (*Asp.* 303, 504, 512; *Dysk.* 427, 454; *Pk.* 292; fr.861.1); these verbs seem to have existed side by side in Attic (*Lys.* 12.10 has the athematic form, but the inscriptions almost only the thematic).<sup>841</sup>

$\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\omega}$  fr.607.3;  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  fr.74.2 (next to  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\sigma\iota\nu$  fr.693.2); the thematic optative  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\omicron}\iota$  (*Ep.* 456) is already attested in classical Attic, and in Middle Comedy ( $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  Alexis fr.115.25).

$\omicron\dot{\iota}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\omicron\dot{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$  – this verb has alternative first person forms in the present and imperfect. The thematic variant (11)<sup>842</sup> is less common than the athematic (20).<sup>843</sup>

It might be objected that the use of the verb in parentheses (cross-linguistically

<sup>838</sup> Kühner/Blass (1892) 194-5; Schwyzer (1950) 698-699; comprehensive analysis in Ceolin (2013).

<sup>839</sup> That said, the same rather odd mixture of thematic and athematic forms exists in Polybius, see de Fouault (1972) 73-74.

<sup>840</sup> The *Epitrepointes* examples are spoken by a slave and a woman respectively, but there is little value in the observation given the small number of total examples.

<sup>841</sup> Threault (1990) 625.

<sup>842</sup> Present: *Dysk.* 429, 730; *Car.* 32; *Pk.* 303; *Sam.* 372; *Ph.*92; imperfect: *Dysk.* 713, 720; *Ep.* 369; *Mis.* 616; *Sam.* 336. For completeness I also note 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. *Sam.* 602; 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. *Ep.* 347; m. nom. sg. pres. ppl. fr.325.2.

<sup>843</sup> Present: *Asp.* 156, *Georg.* 36, *Dysk.* 461, 890; *Cith.* 71; *Sam.* 140; *Sik.* 249; fr.508.4; imperfect: *Asp.* 4, 224, 294, 531; *DE.* 98; *Dysk.* 85; *Cith.* fr.1.1; *Ench.* fr.1.1; *Pk.* 353, 482 ([ $\acute{\omicron}\mu$ ]ην); *Sam.* 615; fr.63.1.

banal) could give rise to a shortened form of the verb; οἶμαι is thus the product of a (synchronically unusual) contraction. This is contradicted by Menander's usage, in which οἴομαι is the form preferred in parenthesis. It is also contradicted by the much greater frequency of the thematic variant in Polybius (79 examples to 12 athematic).<sup>844</sup> This points to a genuine morphological variation in the direction of greater regularisation (i.e. a fully thematic inflection).

ὄμνυμι fr.239.1; however ὀμνύω is vastly more frequent: *Kol.* 46, *Pk.* 285, fr.96, fr.909.18; ὄμνυε *Sam.* 311; ὀμνύων fr.747.1; Pf. Pf. pcpl. fr.96.3. The thematic variant is also attested in Diphilus (fr.101.2) and earlier in Alexis (fr.133.8 ὀμνύων).

στρωννύω (ἐστρώννυον) is reconstructed by Barigazzi at *Dysk.* 943. It is however not necessary to assume a thematicised form; other editions read ἐστρώννυτο.<sup>845</sup>

These are not many examples; it is difficult to conclude that Menander's practice was substantially different from that of earlier poets.

### 3.7.10 Forms of οἶδα

The paradigm of οἶδα was highly synchronically irregular in classical Attic. As such it was a prime target for analogical levelling in the course of the history of the language. In Menander, the following paradigm is attested:

1Sg.	οἶδα	<i>Asp.</i> 434 etc.
2Sg.	οἶσθα  οἶσθας	<i>Asp.</i> 72, 374, <i>Dysk.</i> 115, 798, 813, <i>Ep.</i> 541, 871, 1127, <i>Theoph.</i> 20, <i>Con.</i> 11, <i>Pk.</i> 858, <i>Sam.</i> 715, fr.649;  <i>Ep.</i> 481, <i>Mis.</i> 650, <i>Pk.</i> 342, fr.246.5
3Sg.	οἶδε(ν)	<i>Asp.</i> 118, <i>Dysk.</i> 246, 385, <i>Ep.</i> 471, 502, 795, 1118, 1128; <i>Car.</i> fr.2.1; <i>Col.</i>

<sup>844</sup> Based on Mausersberger *et al.* (2000-2004) s.v.

<sup>845</sup> Sandbach (1990) 90; Jacques (1963) 70.

		107; <i>Mis.</i> 136; <i>Pk.</i> 750, 751; <i>Sik.</i> 87, 204; fr.865.3
1Pl.	ἴσμεν	<i>Mis.</i> 316
2Pl.	ἴστε	<i>Dysk.</i> 124
3Pl.	ἴσασιν	fr.219.3

The differences to the classical Attic paradigm are minimal; only the form οἴσθα<sub>ς</sub> requires comment. The form is first attested in Cratinus (fr.112); Herwerden suspected that the form was born of a mondegreen: οἴσθά σ' in Cratinus had been understood as a single form.<sup>846</sup> It seems more likely that the analogical restructuring of the paradigm occurred in sub-standard speech from an early period, given that the form is well established in later periods.<sup>847</sup> Schwyzer relates this to a general spread of -ας in the perfect singular paradigm; the old ending -θα, at first preserved in the paradigms of οἶδα (οἴσθα) and εἰμί (ἦσθα), was gradually replaced.<sup>848</sup> The rebuilt form ἦσθα<sub>ς</sub> is also attested in Menander (*Pk.* 290).<sup>849</sup> The next stage attested in the Koiné is a levelling of the stem throughout the singular paradigm, giving a 2Sg form οἶδα<sub>ς</sub>; but this is not attested in Menander.<sup>850</sup>

### 3.7.11 Feminine perfect participles

The morphology of the perfect indicative was discussed above; the feminine perfect participle is also of interest for our investigation. Thraette documents a

<sup>846</sup> On this form, see Kassel/Austin (1983) 178 (who comment 'vix recte' on Herwerden's view).

<sup>847</sup> In other comedy, see Alexis fr.15.11 with Arnott (1996b) 94 (though it is not clear in what way Phoenicides fr.3.2 proves that οἴσθα<sub>ς</sub> and οἶδα<sub>ς</sub> stood 'side by side' in later comedy), Philemon fr.45.5.

<sup>848</sup> Schwyzer (1959) 662.

<sup>849</sup> Cf. Lamagna (1994) 199 on *Pk.* 290 (= his 100).

<sup>850</sup> Vessella (2008) 333 even suggests that Koiné οἶδα<sub>ς</sub> was created by a wholly different analogical process to οἴσθα<sub>ς</sub>; Phoenicides fr.3.2, if correct, shows that οἶδα<sub>ς</sub> was current in the third century. Körte conjectured οἶδα<sub>ς</sub> in a papyrus fragment (P.Sorb.72r 57 = *CGFP* 257 = *adesp.* 1017 K.-A.) often attributed to Menander, see Austin (1973) 284; if the piece is Menander, the form must be wrong (compare in any case οἴσθα<sub>ς</sub> at line 65 of the same papyrus, and see Gronewald (1990) 48). Contrast the LXX, in which οἴσθα is a hapax in a relatively conservative text (III Macc. 6:27) contrasting with οἶδα<sub>ς</sub> in the rest of the work; Meister (1907) 251.

change in the nominative singular ending of feminine perfect participles around 320 B.C., affecting Attic but not the Koiné.<sup>851</sup> Until recently, Menander's text presented us with a rather different picture from the inscriptions: *Dysk.* 36 εἰδυῖα; *Dysk.* 595 ἀνηρηκυῖα; *Ep.* 490 ἀπολωλεκυῖα; *Ep.* 570 γεγονυῖ(α); *Ep.* 807 ἡδικηκυῖαν; *Pk.* 131 ἀπειρηκυῖα; *Pk.* 789 ἀκηκυῖα; *Pk.* 994 εὐτυχηκυῖας; *Pk.* 1011 ἀνευρηκυῖαν; *Sam.* 237 γεγονυῖ(α); *Sam.* 240 εἰδυῖ(α); *Sik.* 214 πεφυγῖ(α). Menander, then, seemed to retain the older Attic form of the suffix, in contrast to the innovative forms on the inscriptions. This is difficult to interpret, however; inscriptions are generally thought to reflect rather more conservative varieties in comparison to comedy. Menander's text, of course, might be suspected to have been altered, since even if Menander had written –εῖα, later copyists would have naturally substituted –υῖα on the analogy of other literature.

Recent papyrus discoveries, however, require us to modify this view of Menander's language. The new Michigan papyri published by Römer have, at *Ep.* 807 (Furley), the traces ]κεια[.]τυχειν. In Furley's edition, this line is given as [κόρας διὰ] μηδὲν ἡδικηκυῖαν Τύχην; Römer, using the new traces, restores [ἐμ' ἄνδρα] μηδὲν ἡδικηκυῖα[v] τυχεῖν. It is however certain that the form of the participle was ἡδικηκεῖαν.<sup>852</sup> In that case, we seem to have a Menander papyrus with the suffix expected for the feminine perfect participle in this period. Naturally, chance can never be ruled out in such matters; the fact that the line contains two misspellings does not inspire confidence. A spelling mistake that exactly corresponds to a form expected on other grounds is, however, an unlikely coincidence, especially given the rarity of the spelling –κεια on Egyptian

<sup>851</sup> Thraette (1996) 470. The inscriptions of the Roman period, on the rare occasion that they have an example of the feminine nominative singular perfect participle, have –υῖα.

<sup>852</sup> Prof. Römer assures me (p. c.) that, the difficulty of the papyrus notwithstanding, there is not enough space on the papyrus for the less unusual spelling –υεῖαν.

papyri.<sup>853</sup> As a result, it seems best to interpret this spelling as a chance survival at the hand of a vigilant copyist.

There is little agreement on how exactly this change is to be explained. In Menander, our evidence, such as it is, only covers the feminine perfect participle. If the change were only attested in this suffix, one might prefer a morphological explanation. This is the view endorsed, for example, by Blass, who invokes analogy on the feminine nominative singular of the *u*-stem adjectives (γλυκ-ύς, γλυκ-εῖα).<sup>854</sup> However, other scholars have collected comparable examples in nominal suffixes, which suggest that the phenomenon must start, at least, as a phonological change.<sup>855</sup> The evidence from Doric provides an additional complication: although there are forms such as Heracl. ἐρρηγεῖα, Theran ἐστακεῖα, Lac. βιδεος,<sup>856</sup> it is not clear whether this represents an old full grade of the suffix or a borrowing of the ending from elsewhere (perhaps via the Koiné).<sup>857</sup> Since the status of the Doric is not certain, it is not enough to claim that the change is ‘more of a dialectal than a phonological or morphological phenomenon’.<sup>858</sup>

### 3.8 Summary of phonological and morphological features

Our phonological survey of Menander had the following results. We saw that the vocalism already shows traces of two developments characteristic of the later

<sup>853</sup> Gignac (1977) 202-7 lists only four examples against 25 of other spellings; one of these four (CPR 7.20, 28.12) is incorrectly read (ουης is clearly visible). The examples with the spelling <οιεα> indicate that the vowel of the suffix was a rounded vowel, [y] or the like; a misspelling as <ει> is therefore also phonetically improbable.

<sup>854</sup> See Kühner/Blass (1890) 532, §145 Anm. 2.

<sup>855</sup> Danielsson (1916), Kalén (1918).

<sup>856</sup> Buck (1955) 119; on the Laconian examples see Fraenkel (1910) 218-9, Striano (1990).

<sup>857</sup> For the first view, see Meyer (1880) 241; *contra* Schwyzer (1959) 474. For the second view, see Kalén (1918) 5.

<sup>858</sup> Henry (1967) 260; this also does not do justice to the nature of language change as a result of dialect contact. I hope to treat this problem more fully elsewhere.

Koiné: the raising of vowels on the front axis (prior to their eventual merger), and the monophthongisation of /ai/ (at this stage on the allophonic level). The rounded vowels remained stable; in particular, the continuity of phonological behaviour of /oi/ between Aristophanes and Menander was demonstrated. The consonantism was more conservative: /g/ appears to have spirantised, but the other stops (voiceless and voiced aspirated) have not yet followed its lead. The aspirate is intact, and the accentuation, if our lacunose evidence tells us anything of value, remained Attic.

The following aspects of morphology can be related to the Koiné in various ways. The loss of the dual and lack of long augments can be seen as signs of de-Atticisation. The development of an imperfect of ἔρχομαι, of the form οἴσθας, of the third person imperatives in -ετωσαν, of neuter pronominal forms ending in -οῦ, and the changes in the consonantal inflection, can be seen as trends in the direction of regularisation, an important component in Koiné formation.

Other features of Menander's language do not readily admit of interpretations in the light of the Koiné: the use of the perfect, and of thematicised forms of -νῶμι verbs seems in line with other late Attic writers; the future tense has remained more or less stable; it is not clear that optative usage is affected by dialect contact. The first person plural middle endings even appear to retain an archaic, poetic ending (though why this is so is not clear). The Attic declension, on balance, seems to have survived. We have also suggested that feminine perfect participles in Menander should be spelled -εῖα in agreement with the inscriptional evidence for Attic.

## 4. Syntax

The original intention to provide a complete syntax of Menander had to be curtailed from lack of space. In addition, the syntax of interrogative sentences, for example, while of great interest for pragmatics, is unlikely to give us any information about the kinds of diachronic development we are interested in. Syntactic questions are in any case hard to pursue diachronically, so the scope of the thesis was restricted to certain well-defined types for which some kind of diachronic development could be traced.

### 4.1 Introduction: Subordinate Clauses in Menander

The most promising ground for this investigation was Menander's use of subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause can be defined as a clause which fulfills the rôle of a constituent of another clause (the main clause, or *matrix*); the emphasis is here on its *function* rather than on its *structure*. This approach allows us to consider the relationship between various kinds of constituent. For example, a structural approach might distinguish between these English sentences:

- (1) I saw the children [playing in the garden].
- (2) I saw [that the children were playing in the garden].

But in (1), the participial construction is fulfilling the same rôle as the complement clause in (2). Note that the semantic feature of simultaneity demanded by the predicate 'see' is encoded in both examples (by the participle and by the imperfect tense respectively).

In the functional approach thus adopted three main types of clause are distinguished: complement, relative and adverbial clauses. These can be further

defined as follows. A complement clause functions as a noun phrase;<sup>859</sup> since a noun phrase is an argument of a verb, a complement clause can also be defined as a clause necessarily entailed by some matrix verb.<sup>860</sup> Relative clauses may also act as the argument of a verb. They may alternatively act as modifiers of an argument;<sup>861</sup> in other words they restrict the application of a state-of-affairs in the matrix sentence by giving further information about one of the arguments.<sup>862</sup> Adverbial clauses, since they modify entire phrases, are syntactically less embedded than the other kinds of subordinate clause.<sup>863</sup>

This last point introduces the concept of a continuum between subordinate and main clauses, which in turn raises the issue of the function of subordinate clauses in Menander's dialogue. We see several examples where characters answer questions using relative or adverbial clauses. In lively passages, characters can also be observed interrupting complex sentences. Studies of English have shown that certain types of subordinate clause, for example conditional clauses, are more frequent in spoken than in written language.<sup>864</sup> Assessment of this may allow us to specify further the nature of Menander's language, and the accuracy of its reflection of real speech. The grammatical investigation of Menander will therefore also have something to say about his style. Particularly complex, periodic sentences, for example, are more characteristic of rhesis.<sup>865</sup> The distribution of complex sentences, their structure, and rhetorical function, will

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<sup>859</sup> Thompson *et al.* (2007) 238; Noonan (2007) 52.

<sup>860</sup> Cristofaro (2003) 95-6.

<sup>861</sup> Thompson *et al.* (2007) 238.

<sup>862</sup> Cristofaro (2003) 195; Andrews (2007) 206.

<sup>863</sup> Thompson *et al.* (2007) 238; Cristofaro (2003) 155-7 contextualises the claim about embedding using cross-linguistic data. García Ramón (1999) 171-2, 174 gives examples of features distinguishing complement from adverbial relations based on Greek ὅστε clauses.

<sup>864</sup> Ford/Thompson (1986) 354.

<sup>865</sup> See e.g. Zini (1938) 15-22 on the prologue of *Pk.*

therefore contribute to our understanding of the difference between formal speeches and dialogue.

Subordinate clauses thus have a particular import for both literary and linguistic scholars. Since they may be expected to be loci of change, they have the potential to tell us something about changes in syntax in the early Koiné. There is a difficulty here; syntactical variation in Greek is not well described, very few historical studies of ancient dialects giving details about syntax. As a result, the focus in this section of the thesis is much more heavily descriptive. Some diachronic data are given; but many of the more striking aspects of Menander's syntax are unique and controversial examples, and consequently difficult to fit into a diachronic narrative.

Studies of other Greek writers furnish a fair amount of comparative data; it is particularly fortunate that the subordinate clauses of Aristophanes have been thoroughly investigated.<sup>866</sup> The material here is structured slightly differently, but it is hoped that this arrangement will allow comparison with typological literature as well as works on Ancient Greek specifically.

#### 4.2 Indirect speech and the oblique optative

Quotative predicates introduce indirect speech; this is somewhat narrower than the usual term 'substantive clauses', since substantive clauses may be introduced by a number of verbs, and, in Greek, may vary in the kinds of alternative construction they may take.<sup>867</sup> Indirect speech in ancient Greek can take several forms. A clause introduced by ὅτι or ὡς, or an accusative and infinitive construction are the

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<sup>866</sup> Stelter (2004).

<sup>867</sup> For example, Stelter (2004) 500 includes ellipses of the form οἷδ' ὅτι under substantive clauses, thus along with other uses of ὅτι for indirect speech. But the use of ὅτι with οἷδα is competing with the participle, not the infinitive (as with verbs of speaking). The constructions are thus better separated.

two most usual methods. The latter, indeed, requires little discussion here; instead, clauses and an unusual use of the participle are the main focus.

In Menander, indirect speech is not particularly common. The phenomenon of direct quotation, or speech within speech, has been examined on several occasions, and is an important part of Menander's literary style.<sup>868</sup> The result is a frustrating lack of subordinate clauses. It is worth pointing out that both ὅτι and ὡς are rather commoner in functions other than direct speech. The avoidance of ὅτι and ὡς to mark indirect speech might then also be interpreted as their specialisation as subordinators for adverbial clauses.<sup>869</sup>

#### 4.2.1 Clauses

Clauses of indirect speech may be introduced by ὅτι or ὡς.<sup>870</sup> Although the subordinators do not have a syntactic rôle in the matrix sentence, the clause as a whole can be understood either as subject (perhaps better to say complement) or as object.

The preferred conjunction to introduce clauses of indirect speech varies over the course of Greek.<sup>871</sup> In Menander, there are 12 examples of clauses of indirect speech of which eight have ὅτι and four have ὡς. The small sample size does not allow robust conclusions, but ὡς is less common in fifth-century prose (Lysias, for example, has 32% ὡς to 68% ὅτι); in tragedy, ὅτι is less common, while

<sup>868</sup> Osmun (1952); Blundell (1980) 36n.3; Lamagna (1998); and Nünlist (2002), who has a particularly useful tabulation of the relevant passages and their features (254-9). All account for the use of direct discourse in terms of vividness, comic effect, and the increasing sophistication and virtuosity of actors (see Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 570-1, Sommerstein (2013) 169). Direct discourse might also have been typical of a certain kind of oral narrative style (cf. *Ep.* 261-8 'and he says...and I say....and he says', with historic present tenses); Menander may have innovated in his use of this style in literature, but it is hardly specific to him.

<sup>869</sup> This matches the expansion of accusative and infinitive constructions seen in the New Testament, see Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 326.

<sup>870</sup> See Crespo (1984).

<sup>871</sup> See the table in Stelter (2004) 496.

Aristophanes is split evenly.<sup>872</sup> Ionic writers use ὥς more frequently, and the usage of tragedy might be explained in this way; it was not an Ionic feature which seems to have been selected in the Koiné, however.<sup>873</sup>

In classical Greek, the optative may be used after secondary verbs of speaking; the eight examples of ὅτι-clauses are exactly evenly split in Menander between primary (*Pk.* 320, 327, 400, 542) and secondary (*Sam.* 24; *Pk.* 159-60; *Pk.* 161-2; *Pk.* 318) governing verbs. In no case does a secondary verb trigger a shift to the optative.

The examples with ὥς are more difficult to sort out semantically, since ὥς is a much more polyvalent subordinator than ὅτι. In addition, ὥς apparently depends on a much wider range of predicates when it functions as a complementiser. Some examples are unequivocal:

- (1) λέγοντας ὥς ἀνὴρ Νικήρατος γέγον' ἐπεξεληθὼν δικαίως τῷ φόνῳ (*Sam.* 512-3) 'saying that Niceratos has become a man by justly going after someone for murder'

Similarly clear are *Sam.* 590-591; *Sik.* 260. The new Michigan papyrus fragments of the *Epitrepointes* have confirmed *Ep.* 812 B as another example of ὥς after λέγω. Other examples, however, are less easy to relate to 'indirect discourse' as such:

<sup>872</sup> Stelter (2004) 496 gives Aristophanes an even split (109 ὥς to 108 ὅτι); her statistics for other authors agree with those of Willi (2003) 263, who, following Monteil (1963) 399, counts 85 ὥς and 79 ὅτι. The disparity is presumably due to differing definitions of 'substantive' clauses, Monteil and Willi considering only substantive clauses after declarative verbs, Stelter dealing with all substantive clauses together. Both Willi and Stelter reject a semantic explanation for the distribution of ὅτι and ὥς in Aristophanes. Willi favours a metrical explanation, while Stelter by claiming that different verbs tend to prefer different complementisers (see her tables 503-6) in effect reintroduces a semantic distinction by the back door. Since (a) elision is tolerated in Menander after ὅτι, and (b) comic metre is rather flexible, metre is unlikely to have been a constraining factor. See below for the verbs used by Menander in the matrix to govern substantive clauses.

<sup>873</sup> Most cases of ὥς seem to mean 'how' in the New Testament, Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 326.

- (2) καὶ δῆλον ὡς ἔσπαρκε τῶν οἴκοι τινὰς ὁ κοινὸς ἐχθρὸς πόλεμος ἄλλον ἀλλαχῆ (*Mis.* 634f.) ‘And it’s clear that war, the common enemy, has scattered the members of my family, each one to a different place’

There is no trace in Menander of later Koine developments such as the use of πῶς as a subordinator.<sup>874</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Accusative and participle

There are some curious examples in Menander where a verb of speaking appears to govern a construction with a participle:

- (3) [ε]ἴπα<sup>875</sup> αὐταῖς [συμπ]αρόντα μ’ ἐνθάδε; (*Pk.* 309) ‘You didn’t tell them, I suppose, that I was with you?’ (trans. Murray).<sup>876</sup>

It will be seen that the translations quoted for (3) both take the Greek as it stands, without assuming an ellipse or something of the sort. Verbs of saying and thinking only rarely take participles in Classical Attic,<sup>877</sup> but there are the following examples: in prose, *Pl. Resp.* 450a, *Gorg.* 481c, *Crit.* 49e; *Xen. Hell.* 7.5.10; in verse, *Homer Od.* 23.2, *S. OT.* 463, *OC.* 1580; *E. Hel.* 1076, 537, *Rh.* 755.

The usage is called ‘poetic’ by most commentators (Kannicht on *Hel.* 535-7);<sup>878</sup> others do not categorise it one way or the other.<sup>879</sup> It is striking, however, that it is so rare. This rarity may in fact point to it being not poetic (given how much of our corpus consists of poetic language), but colloquial; Plato does sometimes use

<sup>874</sup> Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 326.

<sup>875</sup> The Cairo papyrus, the only witness here, reads ]παας, an error corrected by Lefebvre.

<sup>876</sup> Alternatively, reading [vñv π]αρόντα with Meister, ‘Did you let them know I’ve [just] arrived?’ (trans. Arnott).

<sup>877</sup> Smyth (1920) §2106a; Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 394 compares the constructions of *verba declarandi* with *verba dicendi*.

<sup>878</sup> See Kannicht (1969) 154

<sup>879</sup> See Jebb (1893) 71-72.

poetic constructions, but the coincidence with Xenophon is perhaps more an indication of colloquial speech.

There is another example at fr.246.2-4 (taking ὡς εἰς καλόν closely together); *Dysk.* 116 is similar in construction but the sense is rather different:

- (4) μαινόμενον λέγεις τελέως γεωργόν (*Dysk.* 116-117) ‘you are talking about a farmer who’s a raging loony’

Here λέγω with the participle seems to mean ‘mention’; λέγεις ὅτι οὗτος ὁ γεωργὸς μαίνεται is not an accurate paraphrase, whereas εἶπας ὅτι συμπάρειμι (or νῦν πάρειμι) would work for (3).

#### 4.2.3 Summary

This section has highlighted two peculiarities of Menander’s language: the lack of the oblique optative, and the presence of a construction which seems to reflect colloquial registers. This sets the agenda for the following sections, in which similar attention is paid to syntactic oddities in Menander.

#### 4.3 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses give specifying information about participants in a particular state-of-affairs. By identifying an actor in one state-of-affairs in terms of another state-of-affairs, the number of possible referents is at least reduced, at most specified exactly.<sup>880</sup> Typologically, in the post-Homeric stage of the language,<sup>881</sup>

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<sup>880</sup> Cristofaro (2003) 194 *et passim*.

<sup>881</sup> Usually it is held that relative clauses in Homer work rather differently than relative clauses in Attic Greek; see the analysis of Monteil (1963), and Lehmann (cit. n.882). The analysis of Adams (1972) is unreliable. Stelter (2004) has an exhaustive analysis of Aristophanes’ relative clauses; for various reasons this section has been constructed rather differently, but Stelter is exploited for comparative data.

ancient Greek relative clauses are all embedded clauses, introduced by some kind of relative pronoun.<sup>882</sup>

Relative clauses in all languages may be divided along semantic lines, into *determinative* and *appositive* relative clauses.<sup>883</sup> This distinction depends on the function of the relative clause in relation to the matrix: a determinative relative clause provides information essential to the identification of the antecedent; an appositive relative clause, by contrast, may provide additional information which does not play a role in the direct identification of the antecedent. In studies of living languages, various methods can be used to test for this kind of relative clause; for example, since determinative and appositive relative clauses differ in the extent to which they are embedded, they respond differently to illocutionary tests.<sup>884</sup> In dealing with written corpora, these kinds of tests for grammaticality are rarely, if ever, available to us; as a result, relative clauses are best distinguished along different criteria.<sup>885</sup> The nature of the antecedent can often determine whether or not the relative clause is restrictive; in Aristophanes, for example, only substantive antecedents can be followed by both determinative and appositive relative clauses.<sup>886</sup>

This distinction is important for another phenomenon of the Ancient Greek relative clause, called *relative attraction*. A relative pronoun must agree in gender

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<sup>882</sup> Lehmann (1984) 103-6.

<sup>883</sup> For this terminology and a review of other proposals and conventions see Loock (2010) 7; Probert (2015) uses 'restrictive' and 'non-restrictive', and raises interesting problems about distinguishing the two in Greek.

<sup>884</sup> Loock (2010) 7-20, esp. 10-11.

<sup>885</sup> Stelter (2004) 29-32 discusses and exemplifies the difficulties encountered when distinguishing relative clauses along these lines.

<sup>886</sup> Stelter (2004) 23-4.

and number with its antecedent;<sup>887</sup> the case of the pronoun, however, depends on its syntactic function in the relative clause. In certain circumstances, however, the case of the antecedent may be copied onto the relative pronoun; this is termed relative attraction. In Greek, attraction may take place only when a number of conditions are fulfilled. Attraction may only happen in the case of a determinative relative clause;<sup>888</sup> the relative pronoun is usually accusative, the antecedent usually genitive or dative. Logically, this can be related to the phenomenon of relative clauses without antecedent; a relative clause functioning on its own must necessarily be determinative, since only the relative clause contains any reference to the entity the antecedent would otherwise identify. For example, in the sentence

- (1) ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος (*DE. fr.4*) ‘Whom the gods love dies young’

the expression ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν corresponds to the subject of the sentence; the relative clause, then, is in the place of a nominative noun (ὁ ἀνὴρ, for example). In other examples, this can result in attraction of the relative, since the relative must mark the case function of the missing antecedent, as in the following Greek example:

- (2) οὐδὲν κατὰ λόγον γίνεθ’ ὃν ποιεῖ Τύχη (*fr.683*) ‘None of the things which Tyche does happens in a reasonable way’

Here attraction marks the function of the missing antecedent τούτων (itself governed by οὐδέν). This pattern may then be copied into relatives with an

<sup>887</sup> There are various pragmatic exceptions to this, some of which can be exemplified in Menander, but this is the rule; see Kühner/Gerth (1898) 55-57.

<sup>888</sup> ‘Nur dann, wenn der Adjektivsatz fast noch ganz die Geltung eines attributiven Adjektivs beibehalten hat’, Kühner/Gerth (1904) 407; Rijksbaron (2003) 91.

antecedent to give the phenomenon of relative attraction in other determinative clauses.<sup>889</sup>

The most obvious formal criterion in the categorisation of relative clauses is the form of the pronoun.<sup>890</sup> Greek distinguishes an unmarked relative ὅς, ἣ, ὅ from a specific but indeterminate form ὅστις, and a more strongly specifying relative pronoun ὅσπερ. All of these may, in principle at least, be marked with ἄν. The distribution in Menander is as follows:

Relative Pronoun	Frequency	%
ὅς <sup>891</sup>	179	72
ὅστις	37	15
ὅς ἄν	9	4
ὅστις ἄν	1 <sup>892</sup>	fr.694
ὅσπερ	15	6
ὅσπερ ἄν	1	<i>Dysk. 727</i>
TOTAL	242	

In competition with ὅστις we also find the form τίς used rarely to introduce relative clauses. In the Koiné, both ὅστις and τίς become more common; we will see that Menander's language allows us to understand aspects of this development. The selection of a relative pronoun is constrained (e.g. where clauses are antecedents, they select ὅσπερ preferentially) and has syntactic consequences for the relative clause.

<sup>889</sup> Langslow (2009) 76-9; cf. Hermann (1912) 239: 'Man muß sich vergegenwärtigen, daß die Assimilation an den korelativen Relativsatz gebunden bleibt und daß sie vom substantivischen Neutrum ausgeht, das kein Demonstrativum als Beziehungsnomen hat.'

<sup>890</sup> Clauses with οἷος and ὅσος have not been included, because their analysis depends on a full account of independent exclamatory sentences; see Revuelta Puigdollers (1999).

<sup>891</sup> *Pk.* 378 has been omitted from the following discussion. This looks like a relative clause with the relative pronoun and the antecedent in the function of subject, but so few details about it are clear that it seemed best to remove it from the corpus entirely.

<sup>892</sup> In this table and those that follow, precise references are given in lieu of percentages for very small samples.

As a result, Menander's relative clauses have been divided here first of all by formal, then by semantic criteria; the various classes of antecedent are then distinguished. It will be noted that this is a different procedure to that followed by Stelter.<sup>893</sup> Stelter's division of relative clauses according to their antecedent was felt to be less workable for Menander. In part, the frequent lacunae in Menander mean that there would be a category of relative clauses whose antecedent is not available to us; this is less satisfactory than proceeding by the categorisation of relative pronouns. Because of the size of the corpus, there are many more relative clauses in Aristophanes, and the larger number of distinctions entailed by a division by antecedent allows for more nuanced readings; but applying the same procedure to Menander renders many statistical procedures almost meaningless. What, for example, can be concluded from the four relative clauses with a personal pronoun as antecedent?<sup>894</sup> Finally, not all of Stelter's categories are well-motivated.<sup>895</sup> The decision was also determined by the diachronic approach taken here to Menander's language. The major change in the nature of Greek relative clauses is not in the grammatical function of the antecedent, which remains stable, but in the form and function of the relative pronouns. Both to facilitate comparison with Stelter, and to illustrate the claim that the nature of the antecedent is stable, I present here the data for antecedent type for Menander and Aristophanes.<sup>896</sup>

Antecedent	Menander (%)	Aristophanes (%)
Substantive	42	51

<sup>893</sup> Stelter (2004) 32.

<sup>894</sup> *Asp.* 58, *Ep.* 870, *Mis.* fr.4.2, fr.449.2.

<sup>895</sup> Stelter's category 'pronominal adjectives' ((2004) 91-98) seems particularly nebulous, since what counts as a pronominal adjective is never defined, despite the statement that semantic rather than morphological criteria have been used (91 n.2).

<sup>896</sup> The data for Aristophanes are based on Stelter (2004) 32-3.

Pronoun	20	16
No antecedent	29	31
Clause	5.5	2
Uncategorised	3.5	-

As can be seen, the general trend is very similar; this encourages the use of Aristophanes as a control for changes in Menander.

As always, gaps in Menander's text may occasionally make it impossible to be sure about the presence or absence of an antecedent. Contrast the following examples:

(3) ἡ ν[όσος δέ σου] / ἔσθ' ἦν διτλήθεος (*Ph.* 39 f.)

(4) ]τε κοινὸν μέγα βοῶν οἷς ἄν τύχῳ (*Sik.* 181)

The context of (4) does not allow us to make any particular claim; the context is badly damaged, and although no restoration has been proposed which restores an antecedent to the relative, it is not impossible that one stood there. By contrast, though much has been restored in (3), the presence of the article makes it certain that there was an antecedent. It should be noted, however, that even incomplete relative clauses may allow decisions regarding other criteria. For example, it is clear that the antecedent to the relative clause in example (3) plays the subject function in the matrix clause; likewise, it is possible to specify the grammatical rôle of the relative pronoun in both examples.

Most relative clauses have antecedents, but some do not. In theory, Greek might be expected to display a difference in behaviour between relative clauses depending on an unexpressed subject (since the expression of the subject is not

obligatory in Greek) and those depending on an object. In fact, however, there is little distinction between the two, since in general only two kinds of antecedent are regularly implied: a demonstrative pronoun or a personal pronoun.<sup>897</sup> Examples where no antecedent can logically be given are rare; usually these are either illocutionary relative clauses, that is relative clauses with an entire clause as an antecedent ('Satzrelativsätze'), or particular pragmatically motivated examples (e.g. *Ep.* 363).

As in Aristophanes, relative clauses seem to be the most frequent type of subordinate clause in Menander.<sup>898</sup> Menander's case is complicated by the large number of gnomic statements that are couched in relative clauses. Since such *gnomae* are often excerpted, they form a large proportion of the data from the fragments. Given that the fragments furnish more relative clauses (81 of 263 clauses) than any other source, this has apparently had a distorting influence on our figures. However, if we remove the book fragments (leaving 182 examples), relative clauses still make up the most frequent type.

#### 4.3.1 Clauses with ὅς

The unmarked relative pronoun in Greek is ὅς, ἧ, ὅ; it is also by far the most frequently attested relative in Menander, accounting for just under three-quarters

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<sup>897</sup> Probert (2015) develops an important alternative to this view at §6.3, but I have not yet been able to re-evaluate Menander's relative clauses according to her model. My starting-point was the analysis of Aristophanes by Stelter (2004) 116; Stelter takes all third person forms to be 'demonstratives'. Given the large disparity in ratio between the two (240 examples of demonstrative to 34 personal pronouns), as well as the syntactical differences, this is intriguing: do third person forms with a clear personal referent behave more like demonstratives or more like personal pronouns? Particularly given the range of possibilities for deixis in Greek, this might be a topic for further investigation. To make the following pages more comparable with Stelter's work on Aristophanes, the same distinction has been adopted here.

<sup>898</sup> Stelter (2004) 23. The frequency of different kinds of clause is language specific, even for quite closely related languages; see Seiler (1960) 53 on Avestan vs. Vedic.

of his relative clauses (179, 74%). This excludes those clauses where ὅς is used with ἄν, which is considered functionally distinct.

As outlined in the introduction to this section, a relative pronoun can have an explicit antecedent or an implied one, and may stand in an appositive or determinative relationship to it. In either case, the antecedent has a particular grammatical function in its clause, which may be different to the grammatical role of the relative pronoun. An additional complication for the pronoun ὅς is that it may suffer attraction. The various options and their frequency in Menander are illustrated in the following table:

ὅς			
179 examples	148 determinative	95 with antecedent	7 with attraction
			88 without attraction
	53 without antecedent	20 with attraction	
		33 without attraction	
	31 appositive	31 with antecedent	-

The major division adopted here is thus between determinative and appositive relative clauses; next we assess their relationship to an antecedent, expressed or unexpressed, and finally we examine attraction. The fact that attraction is rather more common in cases without antecedent supports the account of the origin of attraction endorsed above.

148 relative clauses with ὅς (82%) are determinative clauses, and 95 of those have an antecedent. They have the following distribution across antecedent types, broken down further according to the relative pronoun's function in its clause:

Function of antecedent		Function of the relative pronoun						
		Subj.	Obj.	Indirect Obj.	Gen Obj	Poss. Gen.	Dat. Obj.	Adv.
Subj.	32	7	12	fr.811.2	<i>Her.24</i>	2	<i>Ep.1123</i>	8
Obj.	44	7	28	3	3			3
Indirect Obj.	2		fr.375.3					<i>Dysk.90</i>
Gen. Obj.	8	<i>Ep. 454</i>	3	<i>Ep.171</i>	<i>Dysk.800</i>			2
Poss. Gen.	2		<i>Asp.134</i>	<i>Asp.204</i>				
Gen. Abs.	1		<i>Pk.127</i>					
Adv.	6		5	<i>Dysk.382</i>				
TOTAL	95	15	51	7	5	2	1	14

The preponderance of the object function in the rôle of the relative clause is paralleled by Aristophanes' usage, but it should be noted that, in Aristophanes, the dominance of the object has a much larger margin.<sup>899</sup> Objects are both the main target antecedent for determinative relative clauses (accounting for over half the examples) and the main function of the relative pronoun itself.

Apart from the pragmatic frequency of the object, the competition with the attributive participle may explain why this is. If an antecedent is the object of a verb, a participle can easily be used to specify it further without using a relative clause:

- (5) ἄρ' ὄρᾳς τοὺς παῖδας οἱ παίζουσιν; ~ ἄρ' ὄρᾳς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς παίζοντας; 'Do you see the children who are playing?'

But if an object is also the object of a transitive verb in a relative clause, the paraphrase with a participle must be passivised:

<sup>899</sup> Based on the figures in Stelter (2004), 54% of all relative clauses modify an object, against only 26% which modify a subject.

- (6) ἄρ' ὁρᾷς τὴν γυναῖκα ἣν ὁ ἀνὴρ φέρει; ~ ἄρ' ὁρᾷς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φερομένην; 'Do you see the woman whom the man is carrying?'

Further research into the participles in Menander would be needed to confirm this hypothesis, but it is possible that complex participle phrases like this were not commonly used in conversation.

The following table shows the determinative relative clauses introduced by ὅς which do not have an explicit antecedent. Some of these will be discussed in the context of attraction (see (4) and (5) below). As explained below, it is still possible to analyse such clauses according to the function of the antecedent they presuppose:

Function of antecedent		Function of ὅς				
		Subj.	Obj.	Indirect Obj.	Gen Obj	Adv.
Subj.	8	3	3	fr.811.2		fr.845.6
Obj.	18		14	2	<i>Dysk.786</i>	<i>Pk.135</i>
Indirect Obj.	2	<i>Asp.92</i>				<i>Ep.436</i>
Gen. Obj.	17	<i>Asp.371</i>	15		<i>Ep.281</i>	
Gen. Comp.	2		2			
Dat. Obj.	1		<i>Ep.919</i>			
Adv.	5		3			2
TOTALS	53					

Stelter distinguishes between clauses with an implied demonstrative pronoun as antecedent and clauses with an implied personal pronoun.<sup>900</sup> She further claims that the type with a demonstrative pronoun is always determinative, whereas the type with a personal pronoun is always appositive.<sup>901</sup> Some 48 examples of the determinative type have an implied demonstrative:

<sup>900</sup> Stelter (2004) 116.

<sup>901</sup> Stelter (2004) 23-4.

- (7) μακάριος ὅστις οὐσίαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχει· χρῆται γὰρ οὗτος εἰς ἃ δεῖ ταύτη καλῶς  
(fr.111) ‘blessed is he who has property and good sense; for he uses it well for the  
things which he needs’

(We are concerned here with the second clause, χρῆται κ.τ.λ.!) The clause requires an antecedent of ἃ to be understood; the easiest assumption is the neuter plural demonstrative ταῦτα.

On the other hand, there is also a counter-example to Stelter’s rule about personal pronouns:

- (8) σὲ ὁρῶ γὰρ, ἦν καὶ τότε (*Ep.* 870) ‘For I see you whom I saw then’

This relative clause can hardly be appositive: Habrotonon is not simply calling to mind an additional fact about Pamphile, she is declaring the basis for her knowledge of Pamphile’s identity.

There are three examples in which a substantive seems to be implied instead; all are somewhat irregular. One example implies the omission of ὁδόν as antecedent (ἦν εἴωθεν, *Dysk.*359); this is a relatively common phenomenon. The others are rather more complex:

- (9) λέγει δὲ πρὸς τὴν μείρακα...ἐν οἷς τε σπαργάνοις δίδωσ’ ἅμα (*Pk.* 134-135) ‘and she tells the girl... and in what swaddling-bands she laid her’  
(10) ἧς ἐρᾶς σε λαμβάνειν καὶ βούλομαι καὶ φημι δεῖν (*Dysk.* 786-787) ‘I both want and declare that you should take the girl you love’

In (10), the antecedent can be omitted simply because the context makes it so obvious: ἧς ἐρᾶς can only refer to one entity. (9) is more difficult: λέγει ἐν οἷς σπαργάνοις is equivalent to τὰ σπάργανα λέγει ἐν οἷς: the antecedent has been

omitted only in the sense that it is no longer in its main clause (see *Dysk.*822 and (25) below).

Before we turn to the appositive relative clauses, we might dwell on the criteria for the distinction. Stelter's investigation of Aristophanes suggests that the nature of the antecedent determines in part the semantics of the relative clause.<sup>902</sup> This can be shown to apply also to Menander; in fact this reflects underlying logical relations between linguistic elements. In addition, relative attraction can only take place in determinative clauses; attraction will therefore also be discussed more fully here.

Relative clauses with demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, pronominal adjectives, and indefinite pronouns as antecedents are said always to be determinative. Frequently this is because such entities (particularly demonstratives) serve only to mark where the relative belongs in the matrix, and are therefore practically equivalent to relative clauses without an antecedent:

- (11) ἄ συνελεξάμην οὐ συγκατορούξω ταῦτ' ἐμαυτῷ (*Dysk.* 813-4) 'I shall not bury with me the things I have collected'

The antecedent, ταῦτα, and the relative pronoun, ἃ, are both objects of their clauses. This sentence would have been comprehensible without ταῦτα, which only marks the exact function of the relative clause in the matrix sentence.<sup>903</sup>

Strikingly, this sentence might have been designed to imitate the structure of

<sup>902</sup> Stelter (2004) 23. Cf. Lehmann (1984) 261-7; Loock (2010) 15-16 adduces examples showing that this distinction is not clear-cut. Lehmann's remarks on the 'Intonationsbruch' between the antecedent and an appositive relative clause vs. continuous intonation contours in determinative clauses look beguiling; but note examples like *Sam.* 154 with a vocative (and thus a definite break) between determinative relative clause and antecedent. *Sam.* 514 with extraposition of the object may be a further indication that such contours were not always applicable to Greek determinative relative clauses.

<sup>903</sup> Cf. fr.400.3-4.

*Dysk.* 800-2, to which it forms a reply, and which uses a correlative τούτων to make the sentence easier to understand.<sup>904</sup> In some of these clauses, Menander uses the same verb in the matrix and in the relative clause, again implying a determinative semantic relationship, since the identity of the referents of relative pronoun and demonstrative is clearly sign-posted (cf. *Ep.* 295-6;<sup>905</sup> fr.316.1; *Sam.*282).

In Menander, however, there does seem to be a counter example:

- (12) ὄφελε μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος, ὃν δίκαιον ἦν, ζῆν (*Asp.* 168) ‘Now, if only he, for whom it would have been fair, were alive’

In (12), the relative clause can hardly be supposed to be necessary to identify the referent of ἐκεῖνος; the relative clause rather gives additional information the interlocutor might be supposed to wish to know. It is almost inevitable, consequently, that a subjective element enters into these judgements.

In the case of substantives, relative clauses may either be determinative or appositive; the difference is sometimes difficult to be sure of precisely. The following are relatively uncontroversial examples:

- (1) παιδικάριόν με καταδεδούλωκ’ εὐτελές, ὃν οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν πολεμίων <οὐ> πάποτε (*Mis.fr.*4) ‘a cheap whore has enslaved me, whom none of my enemies ever conquered before!’
- (2) ὡς ἀλόγιστός ἐστ’ ἀνὴρ, ὃς μήτε φυλακὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔχει (μήτε...) (fr.298.2-3) ‘how very foolish is the man who neither has any watch over his relatives (nor...)’

<sup>904</sup> For a discussion of this kind of sentence, see Stelter (2004) 79, who also suggests that such structures may have aided listener comprehension. It is a question for another day whether oral vs. textual text types might be identified by the presence of such aids.

<sup>905</sup> Cf. *Ep.*515, *Car.*14.

In (1), the relative clause explains Thrasonides' particular indignation at his situation; but it does not provide us with information we need to work out who is being referred to in the main clause; it is therefore appositive. In (2), by contrast, the relative clause is needed to explain the particular case of foolishness in question, and is thus determinative. The next sentence is a more ambiguous case:

- (3) γυνή μ' ἔθρε[ψεν, ἧ] τότε εἶδε κειμένην (*Pk.* 795) 'a woman, who saw me lying at that time, brought me up'

The classification of this relative clause is uncertain: one interpretation might take it to pick out a particular woman, thus being a determinative clause. It was that particular woman who saw the child, who then rescued it and brought it up. However, because this is rather obvious,<sup>906</sup> it may be questioned whether the information in the relative clause is to help identify the antecedent. An interpretation as an appositive relative might be more apt; Glycera is simply adding another element to a picture of the circumstances of her being found.

Determinative relative clauses display the phenomenon of attraction. This is why the tables above use the term 'function' rather than 'case': relative attraction allows a mis-match between the case and the function of a relative pronoun.<sup>907</sup>

The case relations of attraction in Menander are detailed in the following table:

Expected Case	Antecedent Case	Number of examples
Accusative	Genitive	19
	Dative	4
Nominative	Accusative	1 ( <i>Asp.</i> 249)
	Genitive	1 ( <i>Asp.</i> 371)

<sup>906</sup> It does not seem relevant for Glycera to emphasise that the woman did not pass the child on to someone else, as in *Epitrepontes*, or the Oedipus legend.

<sup>907</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 640-1, Humbert (1960) 84-6.

Of relative clauses exhibiting attraction, by the far the most common type has a relative pronoun in the function of object being attracted into the genitive. This is the standard type throughout Greek literature:

- (4) τὴν παρθένον αὐτὸς συνοικίξειν νεανίσκῳ τινὶ ἔμελλεν, ὃν τῆς γυναικὸς ἧς ἔχει  
(*Asp.* 132-4) ‘he intended to settle the girl himself with a young man, the son of the wife whom he married’
- (5) ἐπὶ ἂν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις<sup>908</sup> τις ὧν ζητῆ τι κρεῖττον ὧν ἔχει, ζητεῖ κακά  
(fr.713) ‘Whenever someone surrounded by things universally acknowledged as good seeks something better than the things he has, he seeks bad things’

From these examples it will be seen that no distinction is drawn between genitives of comparison and other kinds of genitive.

Rarer types of attraction are of more interest here. The attraction of nominative pronouns is very rare, and both examples suggested here as candidates come with problems:

- (6) λήψομαι, νῆ τὸν Δία, [ὧν] μὲ ὠδύνηκε πάποτ’ ἀξίαν δίκην (*Asp.* 370-371) ‘I shall exact, by Zeus, a worthy penalty for the things which have pained me’

The relative pronoun is restored, but with a good degree of certainty, given the space available in the gap. The only argument available to be expressed by a relative pronoun in the sentence ‘it pained me’ is the nominative; but if a nominative case stood there, the connection to the rest of the clause would not then be clear. The relative attraction expresses the link between the matrix and the relative clause. The next example is more problematic:

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<sup>908</sup> Cobet’s conjecture (reported in K.-A. *ad loc.*).

(7) εὐφραίνεσθ' ὄν ἔξεστιν χρόνον (*Asp.* 249) 'have fun while you can'

Since ἔξεστι does not normally have a subject, it is unclear exactly how the case relations should be parsed. χρόνον must be the accusative of duration, but that is best taken as part of the matrix syntactically. The question is whether ὅς ἔξεστι would be a possible sentence, and therefore whether we have a genuine case of attraction. There are some indications that impersonal verbs could sometimes take subjects – for example the construction τὸ πλῆθος τούτων ἐνότων (for τούτων ἃ ἔνεστι) at *Isoc.* 5.110.<sup>909</sup> On the other hand, parallels on inscriptions indicate that the expression was a formula, and an analysis of the relative as a second accusative of duration is almost certainly preferable.<sup>910</sup>

We may now turn to appositive relative clauses introduced by ὅς, all 31 of which have an antecedent.

Function of antecedent		Function of the relative pronoun				
		Subj.	Obj.	Indirect Obj.	Gen Obj	Adv.
Subj.	13	4	3	4		2
Obj.	14	1	6	2	3	2
Gen. Obj.	1		1			
Clause	2		2			
Adv.	1					1
TOTALS	31	5	12	6	3	5

<sup>909</sup> This is not a case of 'attraction' as Smyth (1920) 442 puts it, though the terminology is suggestive, but it could represent a transformation of an impersonal verb taking a subject. *Dem.* 22.33, δεικνυμεν οὐκ ἐὼντά σε, οὐδ' ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξεστι, τὸν νόμον may be another example (though ἃ might alternatively be explained as the object of an infinitive γράφειν understood with ἔξεστι from the matrix). The Demosthenes example might at least explain how Isocrates came to use an impersonal verb with a subject, since *Dem.* 22.33 could be reanalysed as being a personal construction. It is not clear to me that this is what is meant by the rejection of the notion 'impersonal' in Kühner/Gerth (1898) 36 n.3, Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 621-2.

<sup>910</sup> Austin (1974) first identified the parallel; for more examples see Inghosso (2010) 279.

Appositive relative clauses can have an entire clause as their antecedent (called ‘illocutionary’ relative clauses). There are two examples introduced by ὅς in Menander.<sup>911</sup>

- (8) ὁ μισεῖν οἷμ’ ἅπαντας τοὺς θεοὺς γυναῖκας ἔπλασεν (fr.508. 4f.) ‘he made women; I think all the gods hate this’

This interpretation is more likely than assuming that γυναῖκας is the antecedent to ὅς: Prometheus is hated by the gods for his *action* of creating women, not only for his creation. The other example, *Sam.*668, is more straightforward.

In the remainder of this section we will examine relative clauses with unusual syntax or semantics. Menander sometimes uses relative clauses to comment on a preceding statement (9) or to answer a question (10):<sup>912</sup>

- (9) παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν γάρ, νῆ Δία, εἴωθα διατρίβειν· ὅς οὐδ’ ἐργάζομαι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος <τοῦ> χωρίου (*Dysk.* 162-4) ‘Of course I usually spend time right by the road: I don’t even work that part of the land’

- (10) τέθ[ν]ηχ’; – ὕφ’ οὗ γ’ ἤκιστ’ ἐχρῆν (*Mis.* 650) ‘Is he dead?’ – ‘Yes, at the hand of one who least should have killed him.’

Stelter classes such examples as concessive clauses. It is not clear that they are better understood as concessives than as a sub-type of relative clauses, however. Since even Stelter admits that the nature of their ‘Nebensinn’ is open to interpretation – indeed, given the sarcastic<sup>913</sup> tone of the main clause of (9) a

<sup>911</sup> In Stelter’s terminology, a ‘Satzrelativsatz’ (2004) 137-140.

<sup>912</sup> Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 265, on *Dysk.* 868. Further examples: *Dysk.* 163; *Mis.*650; *Pk.* 471; *Sam.* 413.

<sup>913</sup> Handley (1965) 160 on the sarcastic value of γάρ and νῆ Δία.

concessive reading is difficult – we should probably think of these as relative clauses competing with participles with a concessive reading.<sup>914</sup>

A construction in which the relative pronoun is used with an imperative has long been associated with colloquial Attic; Kretschmer made it the basis of an etymological analysis of the active *s*-aorist imperative which relies on its fossilisation in spoken registers.<sup>915</sup> There is one example of this kind of relative clause in Menander:

(11) οἶσθ' ὃ ποιήσον; (fr.649) 'do you know what you must do?'

It has been described as 'eine ohne Zweifel aus der Sprache des gewöhnlichen Lebens entlehnte Formel',<sup>916</sup> though it is also attested in tragedy.<sup>917</sup>

Embedded imperatives are typologically unusual.<sup>918</sup> They have however been described in Scandinavian and Slovene;<sup>919</sup> a synchronic analysis of the Germanic data has also been attempted in a generative framework by Platzack.<sup>920</sup> It is significant, however, that at least one prediction of Platzack's theory, the obligatory personal pronoun, is not required by the Greek data. The Slovene data have an especial interest for the Hellenist. The imperative endings in Slavic are traced etymologically to Indo-European optative; the Slovene construction might therefore be analysed as a syntactic archaism involving an embedded optative, a linguistic fossil like the Greek construction.

<sup>914</sup> Longacre (2007) 381, 385-6; Stelter (2004) 325-7. Part of native speaker competence would have included the ability to know the correct reading of a given clause or participle (perhaps due to something like sentence intonation).

<sup>915</sup> Kretschmer (1920); see Langslow (2009) 275 n. 8 for up-to-date bibliography on the issue of the *-σον* ending.

<sup>916</sup> Kühner/Gerth (1898) 239, followed by Rijksbaron (2002) 44.

<sup>917</sup> Examples are given by Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 344; Stahl (1907) 562-3. Stahl's explanation is rather implausible, however.

<sup>918</sup> They do not figure at all in Shopen (2003).

<sup>919</sup> For Scandinavian, see the literature cited by Platzack (2007); for Slovene, Sheppard/Golden (2002) 251-2, Svane (1958) 145.

<sup>920</sup> Platzack (2007).

## 4.3.2 Clauses with ὅστις

This kind of relative clause has the connotation of specific indeterminacy; thus ὅστις indicates ‘a man, any man’, but not simply ‘whoever’ in its broadest sense.<sup>921</sup> Monteil established two rather different senses in which this relative pronoun can be said to be ‘indefinite’. On the one hand, the relative can simply predicate ‘indeterminacy’ of the antecedent; in this case, the relative clause is an appositive addition to the antecedent.<sup>922</sup> The resulting relative clauses are frequently the formulaic ὅτι ποτ’ ἐστί, or the like.<sup>923</sup> On the other hand, the antecedent can be assigned to some kind of class, in which case it remains indefinite, but has still been determined in some way.<sup>924</sup>

According to this distinction, there are 9 appositive clauses in Menander and 28 determinative clauses introduced by ὅστις. The following examples demonstrate this difference:

(12) κατὰ τὴν δόσιν τῆς μητρός, ἣτις ἦν ποτε (*Ep.* 310) ‘according to the gift of his mother, whoever she was’ (appositive)

(13) τοῦτον εὐτυχέστατον λέγω, ὅστις θεωρήσας ἀλόπως, Παρμένων, τὰ σεμνὰ ταῦτ’ ἀπῆλθεν (fr.373.2f.) ‘I call the man most happy, Parmenon, who having seen these mysteries without coming to grief, goes away’ (determinative)

The determinative clauses are evenly split (14/14) between those with and those without an antecedent; the appositive clauses have seven with and two without an antecedent. The tables below give the detailed break-down of the data:

<sup>921</sup> Probert (2015) proposes an account of ὅστις in terms of domain-widening; this will change previous descriptions of these relative clauses significantly.

<sup>922</sup> Termed by Monteil ‘usage A’, cf. Monteil (1963) 131-3.

<sup>923</sup> The incorrect number agreement in *Ep.* 309 attests to the appositional nature of the clause, and formulaic nature of the expression; Kühner/Gerth (1898) 56 give more examples, though the notion of ‘collectivity’ introduced there is unhappy (precisely the opposite, e.g., at *Il.* 15. 731). For textual discussion of this line see Furley (2009) 152, and on the relevance of the line in discussions of Koine elements in Menander’s language, see p.21.

<sup>924</sup> Termed by Monteil ‘usage B’, cf. Monteil (1963) 133-4.

Determinative clauses introduced by ὅστις									
Function of the antecedent		With antecedent			Function of the antecedent		Without antecedent		
		Subj	Obj	Indirect Obj.			Subj	Obj	Indirect Obj.
Subj.	8	7	1		Subj.	7	7		
Obj.	4	2		2	Obj.	5		5	
Voc.	2	2			Ind. Obj.	2		1	1
TOTALS	14	11	1	2	TOTALS	14	7	6	1

Of particular interest is an example in which an appositive and a determinative (importantly in that order)<sup>925</sup> occur together:

(14) διαφέρει Χαίρεφῶντος οὐδὲ γρῦ ἄνθρωπος ὅστις ἐστίν, ὃς κληθεὶς ποτε εἰς ἐστίασιν κ.τ.λ. (fr.265.1-3) ‘Not a jot different to Chairephon is the man, whoever he is, who once was called to a feast etc.’

This clause implies that the identity of the man who resembles Chairephon is unclear; nonetheless, the set of ways in which resemblance to Chairephon can be known, the criteria, *are* known. The relationship between determinative and appositive relatives is thus particularly clear in this clause.

The difference to the use of ὃς is interesting; ὅστις has a weaker preference to refer to the object of the main clause than ὃς does. Indeed, when compared to ὃς, ὅστις has a more limited capacity to access the antecedent (i.e. selects antecedents from a more constrained set of grammatical functions), and can play fewer grammatical rôles in its own clause.

The two vocative examples are a good illustration of the difference between ὃς and ὅστις. Whereas vocatives followed by relative clauses with ὃς are found in prayers, and therefore have specific personages in mind who are being defined by means of the relative clause (Helios in fr.449.2), the vocatives followed by ὅστις

<sup>925</sup> See Loock (2010) 24-6 for the features of clause order generally applying to appositive and determinative clauses in English.

(fr.298.1, fr.734.1) express something about the *kind* of person who is (in both cases) τρισκακοδαίμων. As in Aristophanes, the vocative is only the matrix of a relative in prayers, in which the relative clause acts as a complex epithet.<sup>926</sup>

The fate of ὅστις pulled it in various competing directions.<sup>927</sup> On the one hand, in the Koiné ὅστις was preferred to ὅς in relative clauses; the longer form allowed the confusing distinction between οἷ and οἰ to be eliminated, and by a process akin to ‘Jespersen’s cycle’ privileged the fuller over the less specific form of expression.<sup>928</sup> This is supported by examples in which ὅστις does not seem to differ in meaning from ὅς.<sup>929</sup> On the other hand, ὅστις suffered due to its inherent ambiguity; the distinction between relative clause and indirect question could not be clearly marked, and as a result it was eventually lost along with ὅς. In Modern Greek relative clauses are now formed with the particle ποῦ. Finally, the coexistence of ὅστις and τίς in indirect questions led to the overgeneralisation of τίς to relative clauses also; this is discussed in the next section.

If we then ask to what extent these competing principles can be exemplified in Menander, we can point to examples where ὅστις does not fit the sense. One such is the following:

(15) ἐν δ’ ἴσως ἤμαρτον ὅστις τῶν ἀπάντων φόμην αὐτὸς ἀνταρκῆς τις εἶναι (*Dysk.* 713f.)

‘I erred perhaps in one thing, I who thought that I of all men could be self-sufficient’

<sup>926</sup> The Aristophanic examples are collected and analysed by Willi (2003) 35-6.

<sup>927</sup> Humbert (1960) 39, §50.

<sup>928</sup> Monteil (1963) 124. This is a feature of the language of Herodotus as well, cf. Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 643, Rydbeck (1964) 101-102; this may be interpreted as a feature of Ionic syntax which entered the pre-koiné Attic dialects in Menander’s period. For Jespersen’s cycle see Jespersen (1960) 33-151, esp. 7-11.

<sup>929</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 643; Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 241.

The use of the indefinite relative hardly seems motivated if the speaker is talking about himself.<sup>930</sup>

In the classical period, attraction of ὅστις does not occur.<sup>931</sup> I once thought that the following example showed attraction of ὅστις, which would be excellent evidence for the neutralisation of the difference between the relative pronouns:

(16) καταμενῶ, αὐριον ὄτω βούλεσθ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἐνὶ λόγῳ ἔτοιμος (*Ep.* 414-6) 'I shall stay behind, ready, in a word, to hand the case over tomorrow to whomever you want'

Aside from requiring a rather complicated analysis of the syntax, assuming attraction of ὅστις is less likely than understanding the infinitive ἐπιτρέπειν in both clauses. Proof of this can be found in Homer, since Homeric Greek, while not allowing relative attraction, does allow the relative pronoun to stand in a case demanded by an elided infinitive:

(17) εἴλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει ὧν ἐθέλη, τοὺς δ' αἴτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει (*Il.* 24. 343-4) 'And he took his staff, with which he charms the eyes of men of whom he wants (to charm the eyes), and with which he wakes up those who sleep'

Plainly in this example ὧν has not been attracted; rather the verb phrase ὄμματα θέλγει is understood as a whole in the relative as well as the main clause.<sup>932</sup>

One can also compare the German construction:

(18) Du kannst es geben wem du magst ('You can give it to whom you like')

(19) †Du kannst es geben wen du magst.

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<sup>930</sup> Handley (1965) 253 refers to Kühner/Gerth (1904) 399 for ὅστις used causally (as Lat. *quippe qui*); but see Rydbeck (1964) 98-99 for salutary scepticism about the pronoun's variously described *Nebensinne*, and 102-104 for a rich corpus of Ionic and early Hellenistic examples of ὅστις used for ὅς. It is also telling that Handley *op. cit.* is able to cite parallels for this usage with ὅς (e.g. *Pk.* 440)

<sup>931</sup> Humbert (1960) 85, §133 explains this by pointing out that ὅστις, like οἷος and ὅσος, has a closer connection to the antecedent simply as a result of the more specific sense it brings to the relative clause. See also Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 243, and compare on ὅσπερ below.

<sup>932</sup> I owe this example to Philomen Probert; see Probert (2015) 171-2.

Although *mögen* ‘to like’ takes an accusative object, and although German does not as a rule allow attraction of the relative pronoun to the case of the antecedent, it is ungrammatical here to allow the relative pronoun to stand in the accusative. This is because the relative pronoun is not in fact filling the rôle of direct object here. Rather the infinitive *geben* ‘to give’ must be understood in the relative clause as well.

#### 4.3.3 Clauses with τίς

The frequently blurred interface between the indirect question and the relative clause led to some phenomena of syntactic interference. In the later language this leads to the use of τίς as a relative pronoun.<sup>933</sup> This development took place over the course of the Koiné, but has some classical avatars, especially discussed in reference to Sophocles.<sup>934</sup> We cannot therefore argue that these examples are innovations of the period in which Menander was writing. Nevertheless, Menander’s testimony is important evidence that the construction was not bound to high register literary genres, but may also have been part of ordinary speech.

We might start from the observation that it is cross-linguistically not unusual that relative clauses and indirect questions interact.<sup>935</sup> The following example might serve to illustrate this:

(20) εἰκόν’ οὐκ ἔχω <εὔρεῖν> ὁμοίαν τῷ γεγονότι πράγματι, ζητῶν πρὸς ἑμαυτόν, τί  
ταχέως ἀπολλύει. (fr.420. 1-3) ‘I have no model I can find like the thing which has  
happened to me, seeking in myself the reason why it is swiftly destroying me’

<sup>933</sup> Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 247-248.

<sup>934</sup> Humbert (1960) 40 cites no other examples; see Moorhouse (1982) 266-7, Stahl (1907) 539-40.

<sup>935</sup> Eckert (1992) is a full discussion of the problem for Latin; for the general problem see Lehmann (1984) 45-46. For Greek see Kühner/Gerth (1904) 438-439, Wakker (1999), Stelter (2004) 459-463, 475, Probert (2015) 154-6. I have not yet seen Fauré’s 2011 dissertation on the subject.

The translation given here takes τί to be an indirect question ‘why’; this would be preferred by standard grammars. Certainly it is fully in keeping with the construction of ζητέω which can take an indirect question (as can εὔρεῖν, if Porson’s conjecture is correct). It is however not impossible to see it as a relative clause, translating ‘seeking in myself that which is destroying me swiftly’.<sup>936</sup>

Two examples seem rather more clear-cut: fr.836.6, long recognised as such in the literature,<sup>937</sup> and fr.256.1-2, which is not normally adduced.

- (21) οὕτως ἀσυλλόγιστον ἢ τύχη ποιεῖ τὸ συμφέρον τί ποτ’ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου βίῳ (fr.256.1-2) ‘fortune makes whatever stroke of fate there is in human life so illogical’

Analysing this as an indirect question seems impossible, especially since ποτε is never used by Menander in indirect questions.<sup>938</sup>

#### 4.3.4 Clauses with ὅσπερ

In Attic Greek, the particle περ loses its independence, and only survives in univentions like ὅσπερ, ὡσπερ, καίπερ, εἴπερ and the like.<sup>939</sup> The form ὅπερ frequently has an entire clause as its antecedent; attraction can obviously not occur in this case. There are no cases of attraction of ὅσπερ in Menander, but is not in principle excluded. The following example demonstrates this value of the relative pronoun:

- (22) θύειν με βοῦς οἶει ποεῖν τε ταῦθ’ ἅπερ ὑμεῖς ποεῖτε; (*Dysk.*474f.) ‘Do you think I sacrifice cows and do the very same things you do?’

<sup>936</sup> Even a *prima facie* less complex example like *Ep.* 463 embodies this difficulty. Semantically, the two readings make different presuppositions; but it is hard to say what presuppositions are being made by the Greek without also assuming a syntactical analysis.

<sup>937</sup> Kühner/Gerth (1904) 517, Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 716.

<sup>938</sup> In making this assertion I have checked all indirect questions in Menander which are not introduced by ὅ τι in an attempt to avoid a circular argument; of course if indirect questions with ὅ τι happen to behave differently in this regard my labour was for nothing.

<sup>939</sup> Denniston (1954) 481; for the use of the particle in the Koiné see Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 84-85.

The antecedent in this case is ταῦτα ‘the same’;<sup>940</sup> since the relative clause is part of an identity predicate, the relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause is very close. A similar argument can be made on the basis of fr.602.7, where the predicate of the matrix is understood also in the relative clause.<sup>941</sup>

There are fifteen clauses of this type in Menander, 10 determinative and 5 appositive; their syntactic features are as follows:

Clauses introduced by ὅσπερ							
Determinative				Appositive			
Function of the antecedent		Function of the pronoun		Function of the antecedent		Function of the pronoun	
		Subj	Obj			Subj	Obj
Obj.	3	2	<i>Pk.</i> 798	Subj.	1	<i>Sik.</i> 182	
Adv.	2		2	Clause	9	4	5
TOTALS	5	2	3	TOTALS	10	5	5

Six of these have nominal or pronominal antecedents which always immediately precede the relative pronoun. The remaining nine, all introduced by ὅσπερ, are illocutionary relative clauses with the matrix sentence as their antecedent. The syntactic function of the relative pronoun of illocutionary relative clauses is fairly evenly distributed; five are the object of the verb in the relative clause, four are the subject.

Clauses with ὅσπερ are thus either very closely related to the antecedent or are illocutionary. Since all illocutionary relative clauses are appositive, their restrictivity is comparatively easy to sort out.

<sup>940</sup> Cf. also *Pk.* 798.

<sup>941</sup> Also see below on (23), p.281.

One example deserves fuller comment, since it is an exception to the normal patterns of number agreement in relative clauses:

(23) [δημο]τικός,<sup>942</sup> οἷπερ καὶ μόνοι σφύζουσι γῆν (*Sik.* 181f.) ‘shouting greatly to everyone I meet, a man of the people, who are the only ones to protect the country’

It should be noted, however, that this line is an adaptation from E. *Or.* 920 (αὐτουργός, οἷπερ...); the debt of the messenger scene in *Sikyonioidi* has been frequently discussed.<sup>943</sup> The use of οἷπερ is rhetorical, lending weight to the assertion of the importance of the αὐτουργοί (or, as it might be, δημοτικοί). The use of the plural relative pronoun shows the function of the –ικός adjective as a classifier.<sup>944</sup>

#### 4.3.5 Clauses with ὅς ἄν

The sense of this kind of relative is indefinite (usually translated as ‘whoever’).<sup>945</sup> There are ten examples of relative clauses containing the conditional particle after ὅς, only one of which demonstrates relative attraction. Four of these examples have an antecedent, which is the object of the matrix clause in every example apart from fr.97.2, where it is the subject. Of the six examples without an antecedent, one exhibits case attraction of the relative:

(24) ἐμμενεῖτ’ οὗν, εἰπέ μοι, οἷς ἄν δικάσω; (*Ep.* 238) ‘Tell me, will you abide by what I will decide?’

<sup>942</sup> See n.417.

<sup>943</sup> Most recently by Blanchard (2009) xxxiii-xxxvii; see also Sandbach (1970) 128, Handley (1970) 22-3, Webster (1974) 64, Lape (2004) 221-22.

<sup>944</sup> See p.122 above.

<sup>945</sup> See Kühner / Gerth (1904) 426 n.2 for a precise characterisation of the indefiniteness expressed by ὅς ἄν.

Here the relative pronoun has been attracted into the dative (to agree with the supposed dative object τούτοις of ἐμμένω) from the accusative (the expected object of δικάζω). The following table summarises this more concisely:

Clauses with ὅς ἄν							
Function of antecedent		Clauses with an antecedent		Function of antecedent	Clauses without an antecedent		
		Subj	Obj		Subj	Obj	Ind Obj
Subj	2	2		Subj	fr.835.11		fr.835.2
Obj	2		2	Indirect Obj		<i>Ep.523</i>	
				Dat. Obj		<i>Ep.238</i>	
				Gen. Obj			<i>Dysk.619</i>

All relative clauses with ἄν in Menander are determinative.

#### 4.3.6 Clause with ὅστις ἄν

There is a single example of a relative clause introduced by ὅστις ἄν.

- (25) ὅτου δ' ἄν ἔργου τυγχάνῃς ἄπειρος ὢν, τὸ πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν κατειδότην καλόν  
(fr.694) ‘whatever work you happen to have no experience of, finding out from those  
who do know about it is a fine thing’

This is a determinative relative clause, since it forms a constituent without antecedent in the (postponed) matrix sentence.

#### 4.3.7 Clauses with ὅσπερ ἄν

There is a single example of ὅσπερ used with ἄν:

- (26) ὅπερ ἄν ἄλλος καὶ δικαίως (*Dysk. 727*)

The clause is somewhat obscure (Lloyd-Jones emends to εἶπ' ἄν). Knemon introduces with these words how he would have expected Gorgias to react to the news of his mishap down the well – i.e. with the same callousness Knemon had brought to his daily affairs. The antecedent of ὅσπερ seems to be this speech; the overall sense must be ‘the very thing [someone else] would have justly said [you did *not* say]’. This main clause is perhaps

missing because Knemon interrupts his own train of thought at 729 with a rhetorical question (τί δ' ἐστὶ, μείρακιον).

#### 4.3.8 Summary of relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses behave as we expect for classical Attic: they modify nouns predominantly (though there are also illocutionary relative clauses), and compete with participles (in fact it was suggested on the basis of their case relations that they replace participles in some contexts). Further work on their relationship to participial modifiers is needed to complete the picture. Among the relative pronouns used by Menander, there was a correlation between frequency and the extent to which a pronoun was marked (thus ὅς is more frequent than ὅσπερ); since on that principle ὅστις was next least marked after ὅς, the overlapping behaviour of these two pronouns is expected.

The diachronic points are summarised in §4.5.

#### 4.4 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses modify their matrix in the same way adverbs modify propositions.<sup>946</sup> Thus the dependent clause represents the circumstances under which the main clause takes place; this may correspond to the goal, temporal setting, location, or any other kind of adverbial relation.<sup>947</sup>

Adverbial relations therefore organise themselves by relations to different points of time. Temporal relations may provide an initial framework, referring to past, present, or future time. The closely related notions of intention and result can be construed as relations between present and future time, while causal clauses can

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<sup>946</sup> Thompson *et al.* (2007) 237.

<sup>947</sup> Cristofaro (2003) 155.

be understood as the reverse of result clauses (and thus relate present and past time). Finally, conditional clauses can frequently be defined in terms of a causal relationship, although we also see that they develop quite specific nuances of their own.

#### 4.4.1 Temporal Clauses

Temporal clauses specify the time at which a state-of-affairs occurs relative to another state-of-affairs. Further details about the states-of-affairs they specify depend both on the nature of the matrix clause and the details of the construction determined by the subordinator.

An influential approach to aspect in Ancient Greek claimed that the following rule could be established for the distribution of the aspect stems in temporal clauses and their matrix sentences in Herodotus.<sup>948</sup> The rule states that the present stem (indicating durative aspect) is used for the first of two actions chronologically if and only if it is not complete at the time when the second action begins. This seems to include both simultaneous and partially overlapping actions. The aorist stem (indicating punctual aspect) is used for the first of two actions chronologically if and only if it is completed when the second action begins.<sup>949</sup> Stelter applied a version of the rule to Aristophanes and found, perhaps not

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<sup>948</sup> Hettrich (1976), based on the earlier formulation by Ruijgh (1971); the rule is paraphrased here from §3.2. Goldberg (1996) 172 points out that it is hard to use Herodotus as a statistical control for Menander; this is true, but in principle the results of Hettrich's investigation can be evaluated for Menander. See however n.952.

<sup>949</sup> In fact, the examples chosen by Hettrich do not always demonstrate this principle very clearly. For example, it is unclear to me why Hdt. 7.160.1 (Hettrich (1976) 26) should not fall under the definition of the *Inzidenzschema* explained at Hettrich (1976) 28; the two imperfects should, according to Hettrich, refer to overlapping actions, which of course they could do (on the assumption that Gelon's realisation that he was not getting through to Syagros continued while he was making his final offer). But nothing in the context indicates to me that this is how the imperfects *must* be understood, or that selecting the aorist would have made the sentence ungrammatical. Similarly, does the sequence εἶδεν...ἐφίλει at Men. *Pk.* 155-4 indicate that Moschion closed his eyes when he kissed Glycera? See also the comments of Smyth (1920) 434, §1944.

surprisingly given the chronological parameters, that Aristophanes and Herodotus used the aspectual stems in the same way.<sup>950</sup> The importance of this result is that metre has apparently not affected the choice of aspectual stem.<sup>951</sup> But in view of the shortcomings in Hettrich's own presentation of this proposal, it has not been used here. Given the subjective nature of aspectual distinctions, it seems unlikely that a dead language will betray very nuanced behaviour in the choice of aspectual stem.<sup>952</sup> In this section, then, the data will be presented according to the temporal relation expressed by the subordinator. Readers can then use the examples and the reference to other passages to evaluate the status of Hettrich's rule in Menander themselves.

In this connection it is worth highlighting three examples of a temporal clause with a perfect tense:

- (1) ὥς εἴσειμι ἔγώ, ἕως ἔοικας ἀ[.....]τοφ (*Pk.* 397) 'so I'll go in, while you resemble [...]'
- (2) ὅτ' εὐτύχηκας, τότε δέχεσθαι τὴν δίκην τεκμήριον τοῦτ' ἐστὶν Ἑλληνος τρόπου (*Pk.* 1007) 'when you prosper, then accepting a settlement – that's the sign of the Greek manner'

<sup>950</sup> Stelter (2004) 180; the preceding pages discuss a mere ten exceptions (from 225 attested temporal clauses). It must be stressed that Stelter (2004) 176 formulates 'Hettrich's rule' from Hettrich (1976) 31, not from the revised formulation 33-4.

<sup>951</sup> The fears of Hettrich (1976) 21 about the effects of metre on aspectual choice may thus be allayed. It is somewhat frustrating, however, that Stelter does not explicitly give examples which would demonstrate how she has understood Hettrich's rule. In what way, for example, does *Vesp.* 1382-3 (Stelter (2004) 186) correspond to the *Inzidenzschema*?

<sup>952</sup> See, for example, Willi's discussion of the difference between aspect and *Aktionsart* (2007) 41-2. Ruijgh (1979) underlines Hettrich's attempt (1976) 15-17 to delimit the notion of subjectivity in aspect choice (e.g. 220: 'La thèse contraire d'après laquelle en principe, le choix serait libre en dépendant uniquement du point de vue subjectif du locuteur ou de l'auteur, est donc fausse'). It is however disappointing that Hettrich himself does not show in more detail how 'Kontext' can help solve aspectual problems by determining the temporal nature of the action, and thus (presumably) making one of the possible aspect choices ungrammatical. Bers' (1977) observation that 'even if they agree on a theory of aspect, reasonable men will differ in setting temporal boundaries to actions named by verbs' is salutary. As a result, it is also questionable that a single author study will be replicable for another writer.

- (3) οὐθέν με λυπεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ χρηστὸς τρόπος εἰς χαλεπὸν ὅταν ᾗ συγκεκλειμένος βίον (fr.851) ‘nothing pains me more than good manners, when they are shut into a difficult life’

These might be taken to indicate the change in the meaning of the perfect from a resultative to a narrative past tense; the question for Menander has been thoroughly examined by Goldberg.<sup>953</sup> The first is relatively trivial; not only is the context rather too damaged to make for secure interpretation, but also ἔοικα is in any case more or less equivalent to a present. For (2), Goldberg suggests an interpretation of the perfect as replacing an indefinite clause with a subjunctive and ὄν; in addition, she points out that the verb εὐτυχέω is frequently attested in the perfect, matching its stative semantics.<sup>954</sup> Finally (3) is an example of a periphrasis for the perfect.

Relative clauses are not commonly used in Menander as alternatives to temporal expressions (type ἐξ οὗ, Hom. *Il.* 1.6).<sup>955</sup> The one example I have found of the relative pronoun is fr.352.2, which was interpreted as temporal by Bentley.<sup>956</sup> This seems unnecessary, however, as it might just as plausibly be interpreted as referring to someone’s parentage. The point may be that οἶον θηρίον ‘such a monster’ might not have been expected to be the father to τοιοῦτος ‘such a man’, the latter referring to some positive quality. The final line is a comment that good

<sup>953</sup> Goldberg (1996) 172-178. Of Goldberg’s examples (*Ep.* 557, *Pk.* 1007, *Sam.* 66, 247) I accept only the second as a genuine temporal clause, and add *Pk.* 397. The others I think are better read as causal clauses.

<sup>954</sup> Goldberg (1996) 175. This may be related more generally to the ‘intensive’ perfect of stative verbs, see Rijksbaron (2003) 38.

<sup>955</sup> Rosenkranz (1930) 165 claims that Attic authors were particularly attached to using the relative with a preposition to express temporal relations. Since Stelter (2004) 173 n. 3 has pointed out that this does not hold for Aristophanes, the lack of such constructions in Menander is not diagnostic for linguistic change since the fifth century. Rosenkranz’s remarks might need to be reinterpreted in terms of the conventions of formal Attic prose, rather than the colloquial spoken registers reflected by comedy.

<sup>956</sup> Bentley’s Latin paraphrase is given by K.-A. *ad loc.*

*actions* make us beautiful, not a good γένος.<sup>957</sup> The rarity of this construction speaks against Blass' restoration of [ἐξ ὅτ]ουπερ at *Sik.* 77 (quite apart from the sense of the passage itself).<sup>958</sup> Otherwise there are two examples of ἐν ὅσῳ 'while' (*Dysk.* 112, fr.420.4).

The following subordinators are attested in Menander:

Subordinator	Frequency
ὅτε	6
ὅταν	40 (37%)
ἐπειδή	3
ἐπειδάν	3
ἐπάν	4
ήνικά	<i>Sik.</i> 281
ήνικ' ἄν	2
όπόταν	2
ἕως	2
ἕως ἄν	3
μέχρι ἄν	fr.748
ἄχρι ἄν	2
ὡς	23 (21%)
πρίν	15 (14%)
πρίν ἄν	<i>Sik.</i> 256

<sup>957</sup> Of course any speculation about the plot of the play this fragment comes from, the *Trophonius*, is futile; however the interpretation proposed here does correspond with Menandrian tropes elsewhere, such as the contrast between Gorgias and Knemon in the *Dyskolos*, and passages such as fr.835 (on γένος) and *Sam.* 139ff. (arguing against the inheritance of character traits). The passage is cited from Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrh.* 1.108), who is discussing the difference love can make to the perception of reality. But this may have little to do with the Menander quotation; Sextus' immediate link to the fragment ('just as some people dislike pork very much while others greatly enjoy it. Hence too Menander...') does not encourage the idea that the original context for it was about love!

<sup>958</sup> Now read by Blanchard (2009) 6 as εἴπερ (the ghost of *epsilon* is just visible on the plates in Blanchard/Bataille (1964); see Lloyd-Jones (1966b) 144 = Lloyd-Jones (1990) 81).

Some difference in usage to earlier writers may be the consequence of the changes in the mood system. At least one temporal conjunction, ὁπότε, is remarkable in earlier writers for collocating mainly with the optative.<sup>959</sup> The abandonment of this conjunction may be a further indication of the weakening of the optative (which is never attested in temporal clauses), at least in the colloquial spoken language reflected by Menander. The conjunction ἐπεὶ is rare, and exclusively causal in Menander.

Strikingly, μέχρι and ἄχρι are attested in Menander but not in Aristophanes.<sup>960</sup> The absence of these conjunctions can presumably be treated, therefore, as a feature of Aristophanes' idiolect, and not as total loss of the conjunction from spoken Greek.

Definite temporal clauses are exceedingly rare in Menander; apparently competing constructions, for example the participle, were more frequent. The most frequent temporal adverb is ὡς, of which there are 21 examples. Of these, 18 precede their matrix clause, and thus, by Rijksbaron's criteria, are confirmed as being purely temporal;<sup>961</sup> four have present stems and 14 aorist.

- (4) ὡς δ' ἐπέβαινον οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι τὸν [γάμο]ν πείθων, ἰδοῦ, ἐξεργάσατο (*FI*. 15ff.) 'And when he'd accomplished absolutely nothing in persuading him to allow him to marry, presto! he was done for'

<sup>959</sup> For Aristophanes, Stelter (2004) 176, with n. 2 proving the need to assess the evidence of fragments in such questions, since fr.192 (K.-A) has the indicative βούλει. Kassel conjectured λύει (see apparatus *ad loc.*); encouraged by this we might even suggest λύοι. It is not clear what aspect of the use of ὁπότε is a 'Merkmal von Aristophanes' Idiolekt' (188). For comparison, in Plato ὁπότε is collocated with the optative (36 times), the indicative (23), and without a verb (14). Since many of the indicative examples have ὁπότε coordinated with some other conjunction, they are not quite comparable; Plato, then, also seems to prefer the optative with ὁπότε. Polybius' almost exclusive use of the optative (13 examples, indicative only 21.18.6) is probably due to the influence of classical prose.

<sup>960</sup> Stelter (2004) 173.

<sup>961</sup> Rijksbaron (1976) 107.

(5) ὡς δ' ἐγένεθ' ἐσπέρα κατὰ σκηνάς θ' ἅπαν ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον...<ἐ>βρούαζον οἱ πλεῖστοι (*Asp.* 45f.) 'And when evening had drawn in and the whole army was under canvas...the majority started to revel'

(6) οἴμαι γε δὴ, εἰ μὴ τι καταπέπωκε τὴν δίκην ἐμοῦ λέγοντος, ὡς ἠλίσκετο (*Ep.* 367-9) 'I think so, unless he swallowed my legal property while I was talking, when he had been caught'

The other three examples are special cases. One, *Her.* 30f., is a complete utterance by a character consisting only of a clause introduced by ὡς; it is a comment on the other character's words designed to raise a laugh. A similar function can be seen at *Dysk.* 121, where a ὡς clause informs us about Knemon pelting Pyrrhias with his pears. The final example, *Ep.* 369, also seems to be an explicitly comic comment on the proceedings, specifying the point at which Daos might have swallowed the evidence. The position of the temporal clause after the matrix can therefore be explained as deliberate 'comic timing'; it must also be admitted that a causal reading would be possible in all cases. For the causal senses of these conjunctions see §4.4.5.

Strikingly, indefinite temporal clauses in Menander display two properties: they are never formed with the optative; and they are much more frequent than definite temporal relations.<sup>962</sup> I count 56 indefinite clauses, with various subordinators, to 14 definite. (These figures exclude clauses introduced by πρίν, which must be discussed separately). The avoidance of the optative must be due to its weak syntactical position, as its total non-occurrence can hardly be attributed to chance, given the number of indefinite clauses in Menander in general.

<sup>962</sup> This is also the case in the language of Aristophanes, cf. Stelter (2004) 176, but contrasts with Herodotus, cf. Hettrich (1976) 21 (the low incidence of ὅταν is a particular point of contrast). The lack of symmetry may reflect the fact that participles could compete with definite clauses more easily than with indefinite clauses.

The most common indefinite temporal subordinator is ὅταν, with 40 examples. It is difficult to know whether this reflects the chances of the transmission, or whether some pragmatic difference could be made of the distinction between the distribution of positive and negative temporal clauses; 24 of the 40 ὅταν clauses are from the fragments, as their generalising, sententious nature made them prime candidates for being excerpted:

- (7) μισῶ πονηρόν, χρηστὸν ὅταν εἴπῃ λόγον (fr.704) ‘I hate the wicked man, whenever he makes a good speech’

This may therefore have prejudiced the distribution.<sup>963</sup>

As noted above, μέχρι is not attested in Aristophanes, though this must be understood as a feature of Aristophanes’ language, rather than a diachronic development in Greek generally. Given its presence in Menander, its earlier absence cannot be attributed to register either.

Both μέχρι and ἕως can either express simultaneity (‘while’), or anteriority (‘until’). Chanet understands the distinction between these two uses as dependent partly on the aspect of the verb.<sup>964</sup> However, of more importance is the recognition that ἕως and μέχρι clauses are not deranked, since two actions are placed on equal terms, one characterised by durativity (simultaneity), or punctuality (anteriority).<sup>965</sup>

Clauses with πρίν ‘before’ are construed rather differently to the other temporal clauses; their meaning depends on the nature of the matrix verb. With a positive

<sup>963</sup> However, since this is also the most common subordinator *tout court* in Aristophanes, for which see Stelter (2004) 175, it is not excluded that ὅταν was much commoner than other subordinators.

<sup>964</sup> Chanet (1979) 169.

<sup>965</sup> This is my interpretation of Chanet’s term ‘équative’, (1979) 168 *et passim*, which is not clearly defined. The term ‘deranked’ I take from Cristofaro (2003) 54-9.

verb, the conjunction means ‘before’ and takes a dynamic infinitive. With a negative verb, the conjunction means ‘until’ or ‘before’ and takes a finite verb; the semantic relationship between ‘not before’ and ‘(not) until’ is clear, both of them referring to the period up to a particular point, at which time another state-of-affairs is allowed to happen.

In addition, Chanet established for her corpus a correlation between word order and meaning; ἕως meaning ‘until’, and πρὶν with a finite verb both prefer to follow the main clause. For the other clause types the figures are less clear-cut, with a more even split. Chanet relates this, in turn, to different priorities in the functions of the clauses, ἕως distinguishing new from given information, while πρὶν distinguished different degrees of assertedness.

In practice, most examples in Menander are of the dynamic infinitive construction:

- (8) πρὶν λαβεῖν μάχομαί τι σοι (DE. 62) ‘before I take it I shall fight a little with you’

There is only one example of the indefinite construction:

- (9) τῶν ἀντιπραττομένων δ’ ἐμοὶ τῆς παρθένου μηθεὶς γενέσθω κύριος πρὶν ἂν φάνη ἐκεῖνος (Sik. 256 f.)

#### 4.4.2 Locative Clauses

Locative clauses allow the addressee to locate the state-of-affairs expressed in the matrix in space. We may distinguish locative clauses *stricto sensu*, i.e. clauses of place, from directional clauses (either allative or ablative). Menander’s usage is in line with classical norms, so discussion of examples is otiose.

The locative use of ἵνα is however somewhat unexpected:

- (10) [ὄρα]ς ἵν' οἴχεθ'; (*Pk.* 404) 'Do you see where she's gone?'

It is unusual that locative ἵνα is used directionally, and at this date.<sup>966</sup> However one of the other (rare) examples is *Din.* 2.10 (τόπος...ἵνα ἐξῆν ἀπάγειν). Since Dinarchus is an exact contemporary of Menander, we may assume that locative uses of ἵνα did persist into the fourth century; they may represent a particular sociolect.

#### 4.4.3 Final Clauses

Final relations in Greek may be expressed by a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction, by an infinitive or by a participle.

##### 4.4.3.1 Subordinate clauses

In Greek, final clauses are introduced most often by ἵνα, sometimes also ὅπως or ὡς. Various authors have different preferences in their use of these conjunctions.<sup>967</sup> In Attic prose, the commonest are ἵνα and ὅπως, with ὅπως initially being the commoner conjunction; ὡς is used by writers of tragic verse, but only relatively rarely by Aristophanes.<sup>968</sup> In the Hellenistic period, the available conjunctions are reduced; but the Atticist revival brings new life for previously extinct final conjunctions.<sup>969</sup>

<sup>966</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 672, and the examples on 673.

<sup>967</sup> See Weber (1884-1885), and with more recent bibliography Willi (2003) 264; Stelter (2004) 272 n.4 points out that different authorities come to different figures in their counts of final clauses, and on 273 shows that Aristophanes resembles contemporary orators in his usage.

<sup>968</sup> Willi (2003) 265; Stelter (2004) 270.

<sup>969</sup> Loss of ὅπως: Schwyzer /Debrunner (1950) 673; ὅπως is a variant in the NT: Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 298. Henry (1966) gives the inscriptional evidence for the period (table at 292). The inscriptions continue to use ὅπως more frequently than ἵνα until the second century, but this seems to be an archaism of official language shared by the papyri, cf. Mayser (1926) 247.

The fall into obsolescence of ὅπως in final sentences leads to the full grammaticalisation of ἵνα as the final particle.<sup>970</sup> In Menander, neither ὅπως nor ὡς<sup>971</sup> are ever used as final particles, and no final clause has ἄν. The construction of ὡς with a future participle also does not seem to be used by Menander.<sup>972</sup> The strength of ἵνα in this sense led to its competition with διά and other prepositions in the sense ‘because of, for the purpose of’.<sup>973</sup> There are 46 examples of final clauses in Menander. In two cases the conjunction ἵνα has been restored by conjecture (*Pk.* 1016f., *Ep.* 409). In the vast majority of cases (38 examples) Menander uses the subjunctive, irrespective of the tense of the main clause.

(11) καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ζητεῖς λαβεῖν, ἵν’ ἀσφαλέστερον πονηρεύσῃ πάλιν (*Ep.* 349-350)  
‘and you seek to take this as well, so that you might commit crimes more securely in the future’

(12) ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤγον... / ... τοῦτον, ἀρχὴν δ’ ἵνα λάβῃ / μὴνυσέως τὰ λοιπὰ (*Pk.* 164-167)  
‘For I led him, so that he might make a start at inquiring about the rest’

There are five cases in which the optative is used, for example:

(13) ἵνα τὴν δικέλλαν ἐξέλοι καὶ τὸν κάδον / κατέβαινε (*Dysk.* 626-627) ‘he went down in order to take out the mattock and the bucket’

<sup>970</sup> This trend is continued in Polybius and later Greek, see de Foucault (1972) 184f. It should be noted however that isolated examples of ἵνα in locatival function still exist, see (10). In addition, ὅπως is still attested in Biblical Greek, where it may represent a literary affectation; see Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 298-300.

<sup>971</sup> There are suggestive remarks in Stelter (2004) 271 about the dialect value of this final conjunction in Aristophanes, as well as statistical details of Willi’s analysis of ὅπως, ὡς ἄν and ὅπως ἄν as part of the genderlect of Aristophanes’ women. This may be a case where women’s language was more conservative than men’s; Menander’s language would then show the later generalisation of the innovative male restriction in the number of final particles used.

<sup>972</sup> Fr.804.2 was interpreted by Meineke as a purpose clause with secondary indicative introduced by ὡς. Purpose clauses with secondary indicatives are attested in Menander (see below); but since purpose clauses with ὡς are so clearly recessive variants, it is doubtful that we should read one here. It is also not the only possible interpretation of the clause in this fragment.

<sup>973</sup> This usage is already found in Aristophanes, e.g. *Pax* 409 (ἵνα δὴ τί τοῦτο δρᾶτον;), and is found later in the Septuagint, e.g. *Gen.* 4:6, but I find no example in Menander.

In classical Greek, the optative was licensed by historic tenses.<sup>974</sup> Where we have the context, the examples of the optative in Menander are also preceded by an historic tense.<sup>975</sup> The verb ἦκω, as in classical Attic, triggers historic sequence:<sup>976</sup>

- (14) [ἐξ] ἄστεως δ' ἦκων ἵν' ἐντύχοιμί τῳ τῶν δημοτῶν (*Sik.* 183f.) 'coming from the town so that I might meet one of the people'

There is one example where Menander is still able to exploit some kind of morphosyntactic distinction between the subjunctive and the optative after a secondary tense:

- (15) προσεποιησάμην, οὐχ ἵν' ἀδικήσω τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα κατὰ σχολὴν εὔροισι (*Ep.* 867-9) 'I pretended, not to wrong the mother, but so that I could seek her at leisure'

The distinction here seems to be one between an alleged reason (the reason Pamphile herself might deduce was Habrotonon's motive for taking the baby as her own) and Habrotonon's real motive for doing so. The real motive is marked as being truly subordinated to the secondary main verb by the use of the optative; the subjunctive, by contrast, appears to indicate a reason chosen, as it were, at random by the speaker as an example – a mere supposition, rather than a real purpose.<sup>977</sup> It may not be coincidence that the example showing the best control over the optative is put into the mouth of a woman; this may represent an example of

<sup>974</sup> Stelter (2004) 284, following Hettrich (1987), points out that the optative of final clauses is not an oblique optative. See Kühner/Gerth (1898) 254-5, Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 333 for this analysis. Since non-oblique optatives did survive in Menander, we can assume that the types remained distinct through the classical period, and that the final clauses with optatives should not be read as containing oblique optatives.

<sup>975</sup> We may therefore surmise that an historic verb stood before *Pk.* 976.

<sup>976</sup> This will most likely have consequences for the restoration of *Col.* 104.

<sup>977</sup> This fits the spirit of Rijksbaron (2003) 61, according to which the optative codes 'the perspective of the narrator'; the subjunctive here does not correspond to the perspective of the subject of the main verb however, but rather to that of the addressee.

women's speech being more conservative than men's.<sup>978</sup> However this does not explain the use of the optative in final clauses generally, since three of the five examples are given to male speakers.

As established in §3.7.8, there was no morphological reason that the optative was no longer used.<sup>979</sup> Instead, we should interpret the gradual loss of the optative as a spread of the subjunctive and the indicative from functionally equivalent categories.

There are three examples of the aorist indicative used in final clauses. This is a somewhat rare construction carrying the connotation that the purpose was not attained.<sup>980</sup> The construction is usually found after unfulfilled conditions:

- (16) εἰ μὴ καθήγιζέν τις ἄμα τὴν ἔγγελον ἵνα Καλλιμέδων ἀπέθανεν εἰς τῶν συγγενῶν (fr.224.14) '(I would not have so much as sniffed at the altar) if someone had not sacrificed an eel at the same time, for the death just of Callimedon from all his relatives'

Other examples are fr.247.5 and fr.632. The latter is without context, and so the interpretation as a purpose clause is not absolutely sure.

After an imperative, final clauses refer not to the intention of the addressee, but to the intention of the speaker in voicing his/her request:<sup>981</sup>

- (17) προσμείνον, ἰκετεύω σ', ἵν' ἀποδῶ (*Ep.* 365) 'Wait, I beg you, so that he gives the stuff over'

<sup>978</sup> I have not sorted out the text of *Pk.* 164-6 to my own satisfaction (compare Arnott (1996a) 386 with Sandbach (1990) 200), nor have I made sense of the variation in mood (Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 474 are sceptical).

<sup>979</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 338 observe however that at a later stage morphological reasons do seem to become relevant, since the aorist optatives are attested the latest.

<sup>980</sup> Goodwin (1889) 120-2, esp. §333.

<sup>981</sup> Rijksbaron (2003) 62 n.1.

The speaker, Syriskos, intends to get the tokens back from Daos; this is why he tells Smikrines to wait.

#### 4.4.3.2 Future participles

The future participle may be used in Greek to express purpose. Frequently the participle is introduced using the conjunction ὥς; *pace* fr.343, which is difficult to interpret, ὥς seems never to be used with a future participle in this way by Menander.<sup>982</sup> The plain future participle is found in this function, however:

(18) εἰσόμενος τί δεῖ ποιεῖν (*Ep.* 463) ‘to find out what I need to do’

See further *Asp.* 92; *Pk.* 542, 548.

#### 4.4.3.3 Infinitives

Beside clauses introduced by a subordinator, Greek could also use the infinitive to express purpose.<sup>983</sup> This is particularly common after verbs of motion, but not restricted to them:

(19) τὴν οὐσίαν οὐχὶ καταλείψω τὴν ἐμὴν διαρπάσαι τούτοις (*Asp.* 182-4) ‘I shall not leave my property behind for them to grab’

An infinitive of purpose was restored at *Pk.* 758 by van Leeuwen.

The genitive of the articular infinitive is also sometimes used to express purpose:

(20) τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν μηδὲ ἓν (*Ep.* 524) ‘in order not to make a single mistake’

<sup>982</sup> This is different to Aristophanes, see Stelter (2004) 298; but even the earlier poet has only 7 examples. The use of ὥς with the participle may have been a recessive variant even in the fifth century.

<sup>983</sup> The historical background to this is the origin of the infinitive in the dative of a verbal noun. Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 316 suggest that the use of the infinitive of purpose in the Koiné was due to Ionic influence.

This idiom goes back to the classical period, and is especially common in Thucydides.<sup>984</sup> Further examples in Menander: *Dysk.* 286; *Ep.* 527; *Sam.* 241.<sup>985</sup>

This usage may be a literary affectation.<sup>986</sup>

#### 4.4.4 Result Clauses

Result clauses in Menander are always introduced using the particle ὥστε.<sup>987</sup> This particle, produced by univerbation of ὡς and τε, was originally facultative, specifying the semantics of the infinitive. It was in competition with plain ὡς in earlier periods of Greek, but began to oust it during the classical period, once it had become a conjunction able to govern a finite verb.<sup>988</sup> Aristophanes and Lysias already use only ὥστε.<sup>989</sup> There are 19 examples of this type of clause in Menander.

As in classical Greek, Menander uses both the infinitive (five times, 26%)<sup>990</sup> and a finite verb (14 times, 73%); it should be noted that any independent verb form

<sup>984</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 361. On the origin of the construction see Aalto (1957) 78-85; Ruijgh (1999) 225-227 with remarks on the competition between the final infinitive and the future participle.

<sup>985</sup> Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 567-568, followed by Sommerstein (2013) 178, interpret the genitive here differently (depending on ἐν ἀσφαλεί).

<sup>986</sup> Naturally the genitive of the articular infinitive is attested in other constructions, e.g. genitive of comparison (fr.708.2), governed by ἔνεκα (fr.312.2, fr.723), and after a verb of ‘ceasing’ (fr.862.7).

<sup>987</sup> Stelter (2004) 305 includes various relative constructions. But these are better considered as various kinds of relative clause; since they never admit the infinitive, their construction is different to that of ὥστε, and does not admit the same range of meanings.

<sup>988</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 677. The frequent statement that ὥστε can govern the ‘indicative’ is misleading and should be dropped.

<sup>989</sup> Monteil (1963) 349; the single example of ὡς in Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1110, is rejected by Monteil; Madvig’s correction (ὥστε for ὡς τᾶ) is uncomplicated, but it is not accepted by Wilson (OCT 2007). Stelter (2004) 305-6 described the correction as ‘nicht unwahrscheinlich’, but points out that a reminiscence of Aeschylus’s style may be intended, since ὡς is frequent in his texts. Either way the usage is not contemporary. The examples of ὡς in the New Testament are discussed by Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 317-8; if genuine, they are likely to be literary affectations – it is hardly a coincidence that they occur in *Luke* and *Act of the Apostles*, the Biblical books with the most ‘classical’ language.

<sup>990</sup> Not including the corrupt example at fr.302.2; it is unclear that an indicative cannot have stood here.

may be used, not only indicatives.<sup>991</sup> This marked preference for finite verbs continues a fifth-century trend, but stands in contrast to later usage. In Aristophanes, for example, finite verbs are used in 37% of result clauses,<sup>992</sup> while in the New Testament they are scarcely used in this sense.<sup>993</sup> Presumably then the situation in Menander reflects the pragmatics of result clauses, rather than language change; the result clause with infinitive is not in the process of being lost.

This leads us to the question of the semantics of result clauses and their classification in Greek grammar more generally.<sup>994</sup> The standard view supposes that the infinitive stands for ‘supposed result’, and indicative for ‘actual result’.<sup>995</sup> Since an actual result may also be supposed, this account leaves a large grey area for the constructions to influence each other; this is supported by variation in the Greek data. A different view tries to establish a syntactic difference between the types. The infinitive type on this model represents a result closely causally linked to the matrix state-of-affairs; by contrast, the indicative type represents an occurrence distinct from the cause. The latter is therefore more strongly paratactic than the former.<sup>996</sup>

Stelter suggested that these proposals might actually be describing the same phenomenon from different perspectives: the approach of Kühner / Gerth and

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<sup>991</sup> This includes the imperative and the potential optative, though this last is not attested in Menander, Ptolemaic papyri or the New Testament; see Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 678, Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1973) 317.

<sup>992</sup> According to the figures in Stelter (2004) 312 there are 52 examples of the infinitive and 88 with the indicative. The figures given by Monteil (1963) 350 are unreliable (and confusingly different to the sample size he uses elsewhere), but they do attest to an increased preference for the indicative during the fifth century.

<sup>993</sup> Only two examples, Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 318.

<sup>994</sup> A full study of result clauses in Greek remains to be written.

<sup>995</sup> Kühner/Gerth (1904) 500-515; Goodwin (1875) 220-232; Rijksbaron (2002) 63.

<sup>996</sup> Humbert (1960) 226-229; Monteil (1963) 350; Delaunois (1972) discusses examples on the basis of Humbert’s views and specifies the semantics of the infinitive more closely (distinguishing the semantics of ‘goal’, ‘possibility’, and ‘hypothesis’).

Goodwin can be seen as specifying semantically the distinction Humbert and Monteil establish syntactically. She therefore distinguishes result clauses as either attributive (generally speaking with infinitive) or adverbial (with the indicative).<sup>997</sup> Under specific conditions, the indicative can be used with attributive clauses, thus explaining the pragmatic strength of the indicative. This explanation works well for Aristophanes; but the evidence suggests that things have changed by the time of Menander.

Firstly, at least one ‘adverbial’ clause in Menander has an infinitive, not an indicative, and is not in indirect speech:

- (21) αὐτὴν δ' ἔχουσιν αὐτὸ τὴν Σαμίαν ὁρῶ ἔξω καθ' αὐτὴν <καὶ> διδοῦσαν τιθίον ὡσθ' ὅτι μὲν αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τοῦτο γνῶριμον εἶναι (*Sam.* 265-8) ‘But I see the Samian girl holding the child... as a result it is obvious that the child is hers.’

Correction to ἐστίν would perhaps be thinkable, but against the evidence of both codices. The clause does not refer to some pronominal element or scalar quality (size, quantity or the like); rather it resembles a paratactic clause introducing a (logical) consequence without stress on the causal connection (the state of knowledge of the child’s identity, τοῦτο γνῶριμον εἶναι, does not follow directly from what Demeas has observed).<sup>998</sup>

Many examples of result clauses are introduced by some pronominal element (in English, usually ‘so’, ‘so great’, ‘in such a way’ and the like). In Menander this use is surprisingly rare, only one example being introduced by a demonstrative element:

<sup>997</sup> Stelter (2004) 301f., 310.

<sup>998</sup> Is it possible that a deliberate joke, for the audience’s benefit, has been put into the mouth of the unwitting Demeas? Yes, but the evidential basis for such a claim is extremely slim.

(22) οἶε τοσαύτην τοὺς θεοὺς ἄγειν σχολήν ὥστε τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὰγαθὸν καθ' ἡμέραν νέμειν ἐκάστῳ; (*Ep.* 1084f.) ‘Do you think that the gods have so much leisure that they distribute good and evil to each man every day?’<sup>999</sup>

By contrast there are many more examples in Aristophanes. It is striking that this example has an infinitive, since the presence of a correlative is precisely one of the motivations Stelter gives for having an indicative.<sup>1000</sup>

Menander also shows different use of the collocation ὥστε γε, of which there is one example:

(23) ὥστε γ' εἰπεῖν (*Mis.* 91) ‘so to speak’

It should be noted that this is different to the idiom in Aristophanes, which always takes the indicative.<sup>1001</sup> In addition, this is a clear example of an ‘adverbial’ result clause, whereas the Aristophanic examples are attributive.

There are six examples of ὥστε used with an imperative or prohibitive (*Con.* 18f., *Ep.* 797f., *Pk.* 167, *Sam* 478, 560, fr.602.18). This contrasts with the usage of Aristophanes, who only uses this construction twice (*Vesp.* 1347, *Av.* 387).<sup>1002</sup>

The use of ὥστε with imperatives and prohibitives indicates that it can introduce main clauses as well as subordinate clauses.

A ὥστε clause itself can act as a matrix clause on which a subordinate clause depends:

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<sup>999</sup> The clause has an infinitive, but since it is in indirect speech this does not tell us much; ‘in der indirekten Rede ist also kein Unterschied zu attributiven Konsekutivsätze zu sehen’, as Stelter (2004) 319 n.1 puts it.

<sup>1000</sup> Stelter (2004) 316 lists 25 examples with a correlative, which may not be comprehensive; nine of these have infinitives.

<sup>1001</sup> Stelter (2004) 309 n.3, for the data see 319.

<sup>1002</sup> Stelter (2004) 315.

- (24) ὥστ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἐδυσχέρανέ τις ἀτιμίαν τ' ἐνόμισε, μεταθέσθω πάλιν (*Pk.* 167) 'so, if anyone was distressed by this and thought it dishonour, let him change his mind again'

Similar examples can be read at *Pk.* 495, *Sam.* 267, 560, 714.

From all this, we may conclude that ὥστε in Menander's language was not in fact most commonly used as a subordinator; rather the conjunction has begun to be used as an adverb modifying an independent sentence. This independent sentence can retain the form usually associated with ὥστε. This marks a point of continuity between Menander and Biblical Greek.<sup>1003</sup>

#### 4.4.5 Causal Clauses

The majority of causal clauses in Menander are introduced by ὅτι 'because'; in addition there are a few examples of causal ἐπεί. When ἐπεί is marked with the particle –περ, which has no independent existence in this period,<sup>1004</sup> it is unambiguously causal:

- (25) οὐ μαλακιστέον δ' ὅμως, ἐπείπερ ἤργμαι καταπονεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἀπαξ (*Dysk.* 391-2) 'Still, no wimping out, since I've begun to work on the matter'

There is another example at *Dysk.* 133.

Causal examples of ἐπειδή are also attested:

- (26) ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἀλλοτριῶς ἔχων πρὸς ἐμέ, ποιήσω ταῦτ' ἐγὼ (*Asp.* 181-2) 'But now that he's behaving like I'm not a member of his family, here's what I shall do'

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<sup>1003</sup> Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 317: 'die Konstruktion mit Inf. greift demnach weiter als im Attischen'.

<sup>1004</sup> See p.279 for this.

*Dysk.* 837 may be another example of this; but this is a notoriously difficult passage.<sup>1005</sup>

(27) οὐκ ἔχων βούλει δοκεῖν [.....] ἐπειδὴ συμπεπεισμένον μ' ὀρᾷς [.....] ἐ τούτῳ μ' ἀνεπέπεικας (*Dysk.* 836-838) 'not having (?) you wish to think (?)...since you see that I am persuaded [...] you have convinced me'

The commentators agree that 837 belongs to the speech of Callippides. The lost beginning of the line almost certainly contained an infinitive, whether the object of βούλει or of δοκεῖν (836) is impossible to say. Accordingly, it seems certain that ἐπειδὴ begun a new sentence, and thus we can assume that it had a causal sense.

In other cases, it is sometimes hard to untangle causal and temporal ἐπεὶ and ὥς. Rijksbaron established the following criteria for the distinction in the case of ἐπεὶ, portrayed below as a sequence of tests:<sup>1006</sup>

	Criterion	Test
1	Word-order	If ἐπεὶ-clause follows the main clause, then it is a <i>motivating</i> expression; if not...
2	Tense	a) ἐπεὶ-clause has an imperfect or aorist indicative, main clause is a secondary tense: ἐπεὶ is <i>temporal</i> (=> 3a) b) ἐπεὶ-clause has a present or aorist indicative, main clause is a primary tense: ἐπεὶ means 'now that' (=> 3b)
3a	Referentiality	ἐπεὶ gives new information => <i>continuative</i>
3b		ἐπεὶ gives old information => <i>resumptive</i>
		ἐπεὶ sums up a situation

For ὥς, the distinction is simpler: ὥς is temporal if it precedes the main clause; ὥς clauses in other positions are less frequent, and less uniform.

<sup>1005</sup> Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 261 'Textual uncertainty makes this one of the most difficult passages of the play.'

<sup>1006</sup> Rijksbaron (1976) 72-3.

Some possible examples of causal ὥς were discussed above under temporal clauses, though it was observed that the passages, as postpositive clauses introduced by ὥς, could also be causal:

- (28) [ἴωμ]εν· ὥς καὶ μειρακυλλίων ὄχλος [εἰς τ]ὸν τόπον τις ἔρχεθ' ὑποβεβρεγμένων  
(*Ep.* 169-70) 'Let's go, since a band of drunk young men is coming this way'

Finally, causal relations in Menander may also be expressed using the articular infinitive in the dative case:

- (29) ἡ δὲ τῷ προειδ[έναι] ἀδελφὸν ὄντ' οὐκ ἔφυγε (*Pk.* 156f.) 'but she, because she already knew that he was her brother, did not flee'

#### 4.4.6 Concessive Clauses

Greek does not possess a subordinating conjunction that performs the function of English *although*.<sup>1007</sup> Thus examining the syntax of this relation in Greek requires a functional, not a formal or syntactical perspective. In classical Attic prose, the standard way of introducing a concessive relation was by use of the particle *καίπερ* followed by a participle. But this particle is attested very sparingly in Attic comedy. Willi has suggested that *καίπερ*, *ἄτε* and *καίτοι* with participle may in fact have been part of the sociolect of female speakers in classical Athens.<sup>1008</sup> The examples of *καίπερ* in Aristophanes are split fifty-fifty between male and female speakers; the construction with *καίτοι*, however, seems to be an innovation (*Eccl.* 159).<sup>1009</sup> However, since the marking of a participle with *καίπερ* is an archaism,<sup>1010</sup> it seems unlikely that its distribution is due to gender. The use of

<sup>1007</sup> Stelter (2004) 323

<sup>1008</sup> Stelter (2004) 324 n.1 goes too far in claiming that women use *καίπερ* more than average; Willi (2003) 194 does not try to categorise the construction with *καίπερ* stylistically, and thus is agnostic about the diachronic implications of the distribution he observes.

<sup>1009</sup> Willi (2003) 178f.

<sup>1010</sup> Cf. *καί* at Hom. *Il.* 4.300, *περ* Hom. *Il.* 1.586, and *καίπερ* Hom. *Od.* 7.224, Hes. *Th.* 533; cf. Kühner/Gerth (1898-1904) 85, §486 n. 8, Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 389.

καίτοι may well represent an innovative element in female speech, but this feature alone is not enough to draw any conclusions. For what it is worth, the construction with καίτοι does not appear in Menander.<sup>1011</sup>

Even if this sociolinguistic explanation is wide of the mark, the low absolute frequency of the concessive particle (6 examples in Aristophanes, none in Menander) is striking. Discovering the means of expressing concessive relations becomes particularly important in the light of this fact.

Mostly, Menander seems to use unmarked participles to express concessive sense:

- (30) οὐκ ἂν ἐκδοίη θυγατέρας ἄσμενος, καὶ ταῦτα πεντήκοντα παιδίσκας ἔχων (fr.97. 2-3) 'he would not give away his daughters gladly, even though he had fifty girls'

Concessive participles are in competition with relative clauses, which may sometimes have a concessive sense (this phenomenon is discussed above on p.270). This is much better understood as a part of the relationship between relative clauses and participles than as part of the problem of concessive clauses in Greek.

Concessive relations can also be introduced by species of conditional sentence marked with the particle καί 'even'.<sup>1012</sup> In practice this takes the form εἰ καί or καὶ ἂν. Since, however, these combinations of particles are also attested in functions other than the purely concessive in Menander, the study of their use is reserved for the next section.

<sup>1011</sup> First in Simonides fr.4.5, but Denniston (1954) 559 calls attention to doubts about the antiquity of the construction. It becomes much more common in the post-classical period, e.g. Plut. *Rom.* 18.6, *Comp. Aem. et. Tim.* 2.8.

<sup>1012</sup> Denniston (1954) 299-305; Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 305 treat the construction as conditional, see also the arguments of Jarvis (1972) 71. For the use of the particle καί in conditional clauses see Wakker (1994) 329-339 (330 for concessive conditional clauses).

#### 4.4.7 Conditional Clauses

##### 4.4.7.1 Introduction

Conditional clauses are among the most frequent of subordinate clauses in Menander.<sup>1013</sup> This is expected, if it is correct to suppose that Menander's language reflects contemporary speech patterns, as it has been observed that conditionals cross-linguistically are more frequent in spoken than in written discourse.<sup>1014</sup> If the frequency of conditionals corresponds to a general tendency of speech, it may also be expected that the manner in which conditionals are used, and their form, correspond to the use made of conditionals in Attic speech as well. Since conditionals in ancient Greek also have highly varied morphological marking,<sup>1015</sup> they are a particularly rich field for syntactic, semantic and pragmatic investigations into Menander's language.

Greenberg established that the subordinate clause in normal conditional periods comes first in all languages (labelled by him 'Universal 14'). While languages vary typologically with respect to the position of most subordinate clauses, the unmarked word order for conditional clauses is before their main clause.<sup>1016</sup>

Wakker holds that Greek conditional clauses are an at least partial exception to this, since various subtypes of conditional behave in rather different ways.<sup>1017</sup> This extraordinary result is worth re-examination. Wakker's presentation of the data can be shown to be misleading, and in fact the data she collects do not support her claim.

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<sup>1013</sup> They are the second largest in Aristophanes, Stelter (2004) 328.

<sup>1014</sup> Ford/Thompson (1986) 354.

<sup>1015</sup> For the difficulty of learning conditionals, see Jarvis (1972) 54.

<sup>1016</sup> Greenberg (1963). The motivation for this may be partly iconic, since the protasis, as premise for the apodosis, is logically put first.

<sup>1017</sup> Wakker (1994) 50-60, 88-9.

## 4.4.7.2 The form of the conditional particle

The form of the conditional particle in Greek has a bearing both on the classification of conditionals and on the style and dialect of the writer. The particles that follow the conjunction may also be of relevance for the meaning of the clause. The following are attested in Menander:

εἰ	extremely common
εἴπερ	7 examples ( <i>Dysk.</i> 380, 593; <i>Ep.</i> 907; <i>Mis.</i> 672; <i>Mis.</i> 801; <i>Pk.</i> 507; fr.766.1)
εἰ καί	11 examples
εἴαν	40 examples
εἴανπερ	<i>Sik.</i> 380
εἴαν καὶ	fr.224.8
ἄν	86 examples
ἄνπερ	fr.848.1
καῖν	16 examples
αἰ	<i>Asp.</i> 448

Menander does not use the older Attic form of the conditional particle ἤν (< εἴαν), though one manuscript source (V in the tradition of Artemidorus) introduced the form in fr.433 (just as MSS of Aristophanes introduce the variant ἄν); presumably this change was introduced on the analogy of the language of other comic poets, in particular Aristophanes.<sup>1018</sup> Aristophanes himself uses ἤν, which Willi

<sup>1018</sup> Cf. Handley (1965) 259 (on *Dysk.* 735f.).

describes as phonologically conservative, and uses  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  only in crasis with  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  as  $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ .<sup>1019</sup>

The particles  $\pi\epsilon\rho$  and  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ , both common discourse particles used in conditional clauses, affect the scope of the clause:  $\pi\epsilon\rho$ , originally a scalar particle, is a demarcating scope particle ('exclusively in the case that', 'if and only if');  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ , by contrast, is an extending scope particle ('also if, even if').<sup>1020</sup>

There is only one example of a conditional with limiting scope expressed by the particle  $\gamma\epsilon$ :

- (31)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  μὴ  $\gamma\epsilon$  παντάπασιν αὐτὸν ἠλέουν (*Pk.* 358) 'unless I *did* absolutely pity him'

Meyer's study of the particle  $\gamma\epsilon$  in Menander was thus not able to specify any particular function for it in conditional clauses.<sup>1021</sup>

The conditional subordinator  $\epsilon\phi'$   $\tilde{\omega}$   $\tau\epsilon$  is used at fr.602. 2.

#### 4.4.7.3 Anaphora in conditional clauses

Historically, in literature in the philosophical-logical tradition, the structure of conditional clauses has often been represented by 'if x, then y', although English conditionals only rarely exhibit 'then'. Greek also possessed mechanisms to link its clauses anaphorically:<sup>1022</sup>

- (32)  $\eta\gamma$  δέ που δέη μάχεσθ' ἔχοντα τὴν φοινικίδα, τηνικαῦτ' αὐτὸς βέβαπται βάμμα Κυζικηνικόν (*Ar. Pax* 1175-6) 'And if somehow the man with the red cloak has to fight, then he himself will receive a Cyzicene dipping'

<sup>1019</sup> Willi (2003) 235f. On Aristophanic usage see Stelter (2004) 338. See above for the phonological implications of the contraction  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu > \tilde{\alpha}\nu$  in Menander.

<sup>1020</sup> Wakker (1994) 315-29, 329-39, 364. The semantics of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  is frequently associated with what is called an *Irrelevanzkonditional*, cf. Stelter (2004) 329, 432-8.

<sup>1021</sup> See Meyer (2011).

<sup>1022</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 684 on οὕτως.

In Menander, apodoses seem only rarely to be explicitly linked with their antecedent; apodotic δέ, for example, is nowhere attested in conditionals, and this kind of logical link may have been a feature of more formal language.<sup>1023</sup> In several cases, the clauses are linked by adverbs expressing the notion of immediacy.

εὐθύς	<i>Asp.</i> 433, <i>Dysk.</i> 409, <i>Ep.</i> 521, <i>Theoph.</i> fr.1.6, <i>Mis.</i> 471, <i>Pk.</i> 269, 281, <i>Sam.</i> 724, <i>Ph.</i> 36, fr.36
εὐθέως	<i>Sik.</i> 148
νῦν	<i>Theoph.</i> 26, <i>Ep.</i> 288
παραχρη̃μα	<i>Dysk.</i> 249
[αὐτίκα]	<i>Dysk.</i> 199

αὐτίκα was restored at *Dysk.* 199 (ἀλλ' ἄν ἐμοὶ δ[ῶς, αὐτίκα]); an alternative δ[οῦναι θέλης] is perhaps to be preferred. In one example (*Theoph.* fr.1.6), εὐθύς seems to be a discourse strategy linking a very long protasis and apodosis; since five lines have been taken up with the framing of the protasis, involving a god's somewhat wordy offer of reincarnation, Menander can draw attention back to the initial premise (i.e. the condition) by invoking the immediacy of the response the speaker (Kraton) would give.

The particle ἄν apparently has anaphoric function at *Sam.* 607-8, fr.777.1; note that the order of the clauses is different.<sup>1024</sup>

Where the apodosis is introduced by a particle, its function is only rarely anaphoric. The particle may call attention to a particular word (e.g. *Dysk.*962,

<sup>1023</sup> I do not understand why Arnott's text (1996) 436 adds apodotic δέ at *Pk.* 502; it is certainly not on the papyrus, nor recorded in Körte or Sandbach.

<sup>1024</sup> Slings (1990) 11 remarks that the repetition of ἄν in this context is normal in fourth-century Greek, cf. *Pl. Resp.*378a2, *Dem.* 18.168, and already *Ar. Ran.*1374, *Pl.*924.

where the apodosis is introduced by οὐδὲ μετρίως ‘not even moderately’); or it may link a two part apodosis (as at *Ep.*284-5 τὸ μὲν... τὸ δέ).

#### 4.4.7.4 The sense of the conjunction

It is worth noting that the conjunction εἰ introduces several kinds of construction, not all of them conditional; before we consider conditional periods we need therefore to define the possible alternatives. This task is of especial importance for Menander, since the possible restorations of a line may depend on the possible range of clauses introduced by εἰ:

- Conditional clauses themselves may be of a number of kinds; the main types are termed neutral, prospective, potential and counterfactual and will be treated along with some rarer varieties of conditional in greater detail below.<sup>1025</sup>

Aside from the usage of the particle in ‘real’ conditionals, there are four other functions:<sup>1026</sup>

- The subordinate clause may, instead of having conditional value, have final semantics; in this case the conjunction may mean something like ‘in the hope that’. Cf. εἴ πως δυναίμην *Dysk.* 578.<sup>1027</sup>
- The conjunction εἰ may also introduce an indirect question; in this case (unlike in the last) the subordinate clause is an obligatory constituent. Cf. σκοπεῖ, τοῦ τέγους εἴ σοι μέρος τι ῥεῖ *Sam.* 592 f. Introduced with ἄν, *Ep.* 511 f.; with ἐάν, ἵνα πυνθάνωνται τοὺς κεκλημένους ἐάν / πλείους τις ὧν ἕξεστιν ἐστιῶν τύχη /

<sup>1025</sup> This typology is based on Rijksbaron (2002) 68-74; essentially the same system in Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 684-6.

<sup>1026</sup> For the first three, see Wakker (1994) 365-402.

<sup>1027</sup> Wakker (1994) 365-379. A conjectural example might be thought to stand behind the passage at *Leuk.* 47 Arnott, but this papyrus is not included in the latest edition of the *Leukadia* and may not be by Menander; see Austin (2012) 68.

ἐλθὼν fr.208. 4 ff.<sup>1028</sup> If the supplement ἄχ[ρι ἂν μάθω] / εἰ ταῦτα συγχωρήσεθ' ὑμῖν by West in *Sam.* 159 is correct, then we also have an indirect question here.

- Somewhat unusually, the simple conjunction εἰ may introduce fulfilled or unfulfilled wishes; the conjunction is commoner as εἴθε or εἰ γάρ, however.<sup>1029</sup> One possible example of this in Menander is [εἰ] δ' ἐκ[ε]ῖ[να μ]ῆ γένοιθ' ὅ κ.τ.λ. *Pk.* 287. This restoration is by Sudhaus; Arnott reconstructs [οἷ]δ' ἐκ[ε]ῖ[να· μ]ῆ γένοιθ' ὅ κ.τ.λ., leaving the optative with μή independent as a wish with a relative clause as complement.

- εἰ γάρ may be used in wishes (cf. εἰ γάρ ἐπίδοιμι τοῦτο καὶ ψυχὴν <πάλιν> λάβοιμι ἐγώ *Mis.* fr.7. 1 f.).

Just as the conditional particle may be used in other sentence types, so conditionals can be expressed by means other than conditional particles, particularly by using participles and parataxis. These cases will be discussed below.<sup>1030</sup>

#### 4.4.7.5 Word order

Wakker's study of conditionals saw a correlation between the semantics of conditional clauses in Attic and the order in which the protasis and apodosis occur. In the Functional Grammar framework with which she works, a clause has three levels to which a conditional might in principle refer: the 'predicational', 'propositional' and 'illocutionary' levels.<sup>1031</sup> Broadly speaking these correspond to the state of affairs, the propositional content (e.g. the truth value), and the speech act. The three types can be illustrated by the following examples:

<sup>1028</sup> Wakker (1994) 379-384.

<sup>1029</sup> Wakker (1994) 384-5.

<sup>1030</sup> Jarvis (1972) 56-7 gives examples from English.

<sup>1031</sup> Wakker (1994) 49.

- (33) If I pass my exam, I'll be a doctor.  
 (34) If he's telling the truth, we're in serious trouble.  
 (35) If you're thirsty, there's beer in the fridge.

Thus predicational conditionals provide the condition for the realisation of the state of affairs in the main clause; propositional conditionals the condition for the truth of the proposition in the main clause; and illocutionary conditionals the condition for the appropriateness of the speech act in the main clause.

Since these three types of conditional are syntactically distinct, one might look for further syntactic distinctions between them. Wakker argued that one further distinction between them is their preferential clause order. While predicational conditions took the unmarked word order (in accordance with Greenberg's Universal 14), the propositional and illocutionary conditionals preferred to place the protasis after the apodosis.<sup>1032</sup> Wakker was also able to establish pragmatic reasons for this distribution, and claimed that Greenberg's Universal 14 could not be maintained without qualification.<sup>1033</sup>

Wakker's study is still one of the most detailed monographs on Greek subordinate clauses to have appeared; nonetheless it is difficult to extract some important data from it. The pragmatic categories into which conditionals are classed are hard to apply consistently; while in a modern language much can be done to isolate various types, work on extinct varieties will always be dogged by subjective decisions. In the case of a fragmentary author like Menander this is even more

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<sup>1032</sup> Statistics in Wakker (1994) 58, 60.

<sup>1033</sup> In fact, this is not borne out by Wakker's figures. I have calculated that, overall, Greenberg's Universal 14 still holds for Wakker's corpus, with 42% of conditional clauses preceding the main clause and 36% following it. Wakker does not clearly state her sample size; because there are many more predicational than propositional and illocutionary conditionals, her percentages are misleading. While Greek allowed a good deal of freedom in the ordering of clauses, Greenberg's Universal 14 hardly requires reformulation in terms of subtypes of conditionals; protasis-apodosis is still the normal word order.

difficult. There is a certain danger of circularity, as word order may become a criterion for categorisation of borderline cases (though Wakker's monograph does cite many examples with contrary word order). Finally, Wakker did not make any diachronic predictions about changes in the coding of different semantic relations in Greek. As a result, a study with a diachronic focus can profit less from the pragmatic distinctions she draws; for our study of Menander, therefore, the changes in the uses of the moods that can be documented for conditionals will be the main focus of our interest. It is also worth highlighting cases in which the order of the clauses has been determined by stylistic or metrical criteria. A clear example of this is fr.844.9-10, where the deliberate chiasmic arrangement and the parallelism of the clauses exclude a semantic distinction.<sup>1034</sup> Some cases where clause order may have been dictated by comic timing will be discussed at the end of this section.

#### 4.4.7.6 Verbal forms in protasis and apodosis

Conditionals display an extremely rich variety of verbal morphology. In each case, the apodosis corresponds to some kind of main clause type. In what follows, these types will be considered one by one, depending on the kind of illocution they represent. The main types of clause are declarative (propositions), interrogative (questions) and directive statements (commands); to this can also be added the class of wishes.<sup>1035</sup> Finally, some conditionals have a nominal sentence in one or both of the clauses. Because these illocutionary types have different morphological marking, their morphosyntactic features must be considered separately.

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<sup>1034</sup> See pp.309, 321, 325 for further examples.

<sup>1035</sup> For this division of main clauses, see König/Siemund (2007); see Wakker (1994) 52-56 for theoretical consequences of the ability of conditionals to combine with a full range of clause types.

## 4.4.7.6.1 The apodosis is a proposition

The distribution of moods in the conditional clauses of Menander follows in the majority of cases the patterns established for the classical language.<sup>1036</sup> The ‘basic’ types may be schematised as follows; each is followed by some examples from Menander given in full as well as a list of further references.

The negation of all conditional clauses, whatever their semantics, is μή. The only exception is if the negative is felt to be part of a particular word, for example:

- (36) εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀρέσκει, μετανοεῖς δ', ἀπόδος πάλιν (*Ep.* 289) ‘but if this displeases and you change your mind, give (the tokens) back’

The group οὐκ ἀρέσκει is felt as a single entity; verbs of speaking and wanting are also frequently found with οὐ rather than μή in conditionals.<sup>1037</sup>

Neutral conditions have indicatives, of any tense, in both protasis and apodosis; the protasis is introduced with εἰ:

- (37) ἔπειτα σ' ἀδικεῖ Χρυσίς, εἰ τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐμόν (*Sam.* 479) ‘then Chrysis wrongs you, if it is mine’

- (38) εἰ μὴ γὰρ οὗτος δοκιμάσει με, κυρίως δώσει τε ταύτην, οἴχεται Θρασωνίδης (*Mis.* 663-5) ‘for if he doesn’t approve of me, and he gives her on his authority, Thrasonides is done for’

- (39) τετάρραγμ' (<εὔ> ἴσθ' ὅτι) οὐδὲ μετρίως, εἴ σοι τοιοῦτος φαίνομαι (*Dysk.* 313f.) ‘I’m confused (you know it well), and more than just a little, if that’s how I appear to you’

The neutral conditional can be used to express the conditions on the basis of which a prediction can be made; in such cases the protasis takes the present, the apodosis the future tense:

<sup>1036</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 684-686; Rijksbaron (2002) 68-74.

<sup>1037</sup> Kühner/Gerth (1904) 189-90.

- (40) εἴτ' εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστί σου, τρεφόμενον ὄψει τοῦτον ἐν δούλου μέρει (*Ep.* 468) 'then if he really is your master, you will see him raised in the part of a slave'

Compare *Theoph.* 25f. This might be termed the unmarked future conditional, making a simple hypothesis about the future, without any claims about the likelihood of its fulfilment.

If a future verb is used in the protasis as well, there is frequently an overtone of a threat or warning. This is because both states-of-affairs are being presented as closely to factual as the future can be; the realisation, in effect, is already being taken for granted:

- (41) ΜΟ· εἰ λήψομαι ἱμάντα– ΠΑ· μηδαμῶς· βαδίζω γάρ (*Sam.* 662) 'MO: If I fetch the whip– PA: No, no! I'm going!'

The mere protasis here is already understood by Parmenon as a threat, even with aposiopesis. Neutral conditionals are the most frequent variety of conditionals in Menander, with 69 examples.

Prospective conditions, the next most common type (60 examples) have in the protasis ἐάν / ἄν with the subjunctive; the apodosis takes the future indicative in most examples. But any construction with future reference is admitted; thus Menander also uses imperatives and wishes, which will be the subject of later sections, as well as purpose clauses (43), as the apodosis of prospective conditionals:

- (42) ἐάν δὲ νοῦν ἔχῃς ἐμοί τε πείθῃ, τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην φανερὸν ποιήσεις (*Ep.* 493-4) 'if you have sense, and obey me, you will reveal this to your master'
- (43) ἵν', ἄν γένηται παιδίον, φεύγω δίκην (*Asp.* 272) 'so that, if there is a child, I might be prosecuted'

A protasis with  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  with the subjunctive is frequently used with imperatives; they will be discussed further below. Of more interest are cases in which a present tense is used with apparent future reference:

- (44)  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu <\tau'> \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega} \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega \nu\tilde{\nu}\nu\ldots\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\epsilon \pi\epsilon\rho\iota<\sigma\omega\theta>\tilde{\omega}, \pi\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\acute{\iota} \sigma' \acute{\upsilon}\omicron\nu$  (*Dysk.* 729-31)  
 ‘if I die now, or if I’m saved, I (shall) make you my son’

The sense precludes interpretation as a ‘general’ conditional. The usage is admittedly very rare in Greek.<sup>1038</sup> However, Wackernagel points out that it is precisely in telic verbs that the present commonly comes to stand for the future.<sup>1039</sup> This therefore represents an expected use of the present.

The question of the difference between the prospective conditional and the future neutral conditional may now be raised. Wakker has argued for a specific semantic value for the prospective conditional, namely that of ‘likelihood’.<sup>1040</sup> Wakker has also pointed out the typological irregularity of the Greek conditional, in displaying this four-way division of conditional clauses; aside from some nuances available by means of intonation in European languages, the only parallel she discovered was in Swahili.<sup>1041</sup> Other commentators take the view that the distinction between future neutral conditionals and prospective conditionals cannot now be captured. Important problems with Wakker’s view have been pointed out by Stelter. At the very least, the gradual expansion of the prospective conditional at the expense of

<sup>1038</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 273-4; Kühner/Gerth (1898) 138, §382.5(b) give parallels for prospective conditionals with a *futurum pro praesente* ‘mit rhetorischem Nachdrucke’ in the apodosis.

<sup>1039</sup> See Langslow (2009) 208-9 (with 208 n.25 for the terminological adjustment).

<sup>1040</sup> Wakker (1994) 174; this is slightly misrepresented by Stelter (2004) 361, who reads Wakker as saying that the conditional represents ‘die zu erwägende Möglichkeit’. Stelter contrasts this reading with the interpretation of Duhoux (2000) 204, who in fact is in close agreement with Wakker in describing the semantics of the subjunctive with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  as ‘explicitement l’attente, avec action verbale présentée comme escomptée’. Duhoux (2000) 117 defines ‘attente’ as part of his six-way division of the Greek modal system. The definition of prospective conditionals established by Wakker is taken up by Rijksbaron (2002) 69.

<sup>1041</sup> Wakker (1994) 112.

the future neutral conditional indicates that at some point they were felt to be isofunctional.<sup>1042</sup> Furthermore, Stelter points out some counterexamples to Wakker's view from Aristophanes:<sup>1043</sup>

(45) ἐξολοίμην, ἢν ἀκούω (*Ach.* 324) 'may I perish, if I hear it!'

(46) ἢν γὰρ ἡττηθῶ λέγων σου, περιπεσοῦμαι τῷ ξίφει (*Vesp.* 523) 'if I am beaten in a battle of words with you, I shall fall on my sword'

It seems strange for Philokleon to entertain his being beaten as a likely possibility in (46); Wakker's own explanation of (45), that precisely the clash between form and content makes the expression stronger, seems rather strained.<sup>1044</sup>

Certainly neutral future conditionals are attested in Menander. Some are clearly threats, like (41), cf. *Pk.*398, 502. These therefore correspond to the classical distinction between the future neutral conditional and the prospective. Others, like (38) above, seem to be purely hypothetical statements about the future, cf. *Dysk.* 904. These latter may be seen in terms of competition between the prospective and the neutral conditional. In addition, there are examples of a prospective conditional being used as a threat:

(47) ἂν μὴ κατάξω τὴν κεφαλὴν σου, Σωφρόνη, κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην (*Ep.* 1062f.) 'If I don't break your head, Sophrone, may I perish'

A prospective with similar semantics can be read also at *Ep.* 1068f-9, *Sam.* 388, 440-1.<sup>1045</sup> Whatever the original functional distribution was between the neutral and the prospective conditional, it seems that it is being neutralised in the language of Menander.

<sup>1042</sup> 'In nachklassischer Zeit drängt ἂν stark ei zurück', Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 685.

<sup>1043</sup> These and further examples at Stelter (2004) 363.

<sup>1044</sup> Wakker (1994) 190.

<sup>1045</sup> See further (68) with n.1069.

Potential conditionals have the potential optative (with ἄν) in the apodosis, and the plain optative in the protasis:

- (48) εἰ τύχοι γάρ, τοῦτ' ἰδὼν ἴσως ἄν ὑπομείνειε (*Dysk.* 367-8) 'for if it happens, perhaps he would remain seeing this'

This is much the most unusual kind of conditional, with only five certain examples (*Ep.* 455-6, 714-5, *Sam.* 607-8, fr.777.1-2). Two further passages, *Pk.* 516 and *Mis.* 812, may also be remnants of potential conditionals, but further papyrus discoveries are all that can confirm this supposition. From a diachronic perspective, the protasis is the same as a wish; synchronically one might describe a wish as a conditional with the apodosis elided.<sup>1046</sup> Hence some examples are difficult to categorise:

- (49) εἰ γὰρ ἐπίδοιμι τοῦτο καὶ ψυχὴν <πάλιν> λάβοιμι' ἐγὼ (*Mis.* fr.7.1-2) 'if only I could see this and take my soul back'

The two optatives are coordinated, and there is no apodosis. The particle combination εἰ γὰρ is frequently used to introduce wishes; on the other hand, given the presence of conditionals with elided apodoses in Menander, it seems difficult to categorise this example in its fragmentary context.

There is another example where the apodosis is a transformation of a potential conditional rather than the standard pattern:

- (50) εἴ τις προσελθὼν μοι θεῶν λέγοι...εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν ἄν δοκῶ (*Theoph.* fr.1.1-6) 'if one of the gods came to me and said... immediately I think I would reply'

<sup>1046</sup> Even if this does not correspond to the actual historical development of the construction; see Denniston (1954) 90 for bibliography and an account of the problems.

The speaker hypothesises that his reply would be εἶποιμ' ἄν 'I would say'; here it is made an infinitive dependent on a present indicative. The thinking is thus seen as a fact (presumably any person offered anything by a god would think *something*), but since there is not much likelihood of a god really coming to make such an offer, the content of the thought is still in the potential optative (represented by the infinitive with ἄν). There is a parallel at S. *Ant.*719-21, on which Wakker comments that the conditional clause is related to the embedded clause, rather than the main clause.<sup>1047</sup>

It is significant that there appears to be no particular restriction in this type of conditional about what kind of optative might be formed; again this points to syntactic, not morphological constraints on optative use. In later language, the optative continues to be triggered by εἰ after the use of a potential optative with ἄν in the apodosis has disappeared.<sup>1048</sup> However, one can point to some examples in which optatives come as rather a surprise. There are, for example, potential optatives in the apodoses of conditionals with a prospective-type protasis (discussed below as mixed conditionals).

Counterfactual conditions have an historic indicative in the protasis; the apodosis is an historic indicative with ἄν:

- (51) εἰ δ' ἐκλαβὼν ἐκεῖνα Δᾶος ἀπέδοτο ... ἀγνώτες ἄν τὸν πάντα διετέλουν χρόνον  
(*Ep.* 334 ff.) 'and if Daos had taken these things and given them away... they would have remained ignorant for all their life'

<sup>1047</sup> Wakker (1994) 229-30 n.5.

<sup>1048</sup> Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 312.

Counterfactual conditionals are again very rare, with only 9 examples in Menander. Four of these have the same tense in both protasis and apodosis,<sup>1049</sup> three have an aorist in the protasis followed by an imperfect in the apodosis,<sup>1050</sup> two have an imperfect in the protasis followed by an aorist;<sup>1051</sup> *Sam.* 507-8 is usually restored as a counterfactual conditional, in part on the basis of a tragic model, *E. Hipp.* 944.

The difference between the aorist and the imperfect is sometimes said to be one of temporal reference, the aorist referring to counterfactuals, the imperfect to present.<sup>1052</sup> This is more accurately described as a difference of aspect.<sup>1053</sup> In (51), for example, it is clear that Daos' action of taking away is punctual, while the ignorance of the (mythological) children is not a *present* state as such, but a continuous one.

#### 4.4.7.6.1.1 General conditionals

In classical Greek, 'general' conditionals have two forms; either a prospective-type protasis with the subjunctive, with a primary tense in the apodosis, or an optative in the protasis and a secondary tense in the apodosis.

The second type, or 'past general conditionals', is represented in Menander by a pair of examples in the same play, of which the first is quoted here:

- (52) Μοσχίων, ὃς ἄλλοτ', εἰ μὲν ἐνθάδ' ὦν τύχοιμι' ἐγώ, εἰς ἀγρὸν ἔφρουγεν (*Cith.* 54-6) 'Moschion, who at other times, if ever I happened to be here, used to flee to the country'

<sup>1049</sup> Two imperfects: *Dysk.* 743-745, *Col.* 47-49 (ἄν rest.), fr.766.1-6, *Sam.* 724-5.

<sup>1050</sup> *Ep.* 334-336, *Sam.* 330-333, fr.224.11-13.

<sup>1051</sup> *Sam.* 623-9, fr.686.

<sup>1052</sup> Goodwin (1889) 147; Smyth (1920) 518-519. But even they add that the imperfect can have an aspectual reading.

<sup>1053</sup> Schwzyer/Debrunner (1966) 686.

The following lines contain a parallel clause marked with  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  displaying exactly the same construction. But apart from these parallel clauses, there are no other examples of the optative in general conditionals.<sup>1054</sup> In other cases, we see that Menander allows for a much more widespread patterning of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and the subjunctive than was possible in classical Attic; this is another symptom of the weakening of the optative in this period (see examples (57) and (58) below).<sup>1055</sup>

General conditionals with a protasis introduced by  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (six examples) or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (36 examples) generally have a present tense in the apodosis;<sup>1056</sup> however the perfect is also used, being functionally equivalent to a present.<sup>1057</sup> This functional equivalence can be seen in the following example:

- (53)  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  ἴδῃ τις ἐνύπνιον, σφόδρα φοβούμεθ'·  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  γλαῦξ ἀνακράγη, δεδοίκαμεν  
(fr.488.11) 'if someone has a dream, we are most afraid; if an owl screeches, we are terrified'

In both clauses, the emphasis is being put on the iterative nature of the truth of the condition: every time one proposition is true, the other is true as well. Other examples of the perfect are *Col.* 125-6, and *Asp.* 216-8 (in which there are two apodoses).

A general conditional often comments on the truth-value of a clause. The majority of examples occur in the book fragments. This is because a speaker will often call attention to the truth of the kind of sententious maxim that is the bread and butter of the book fragments.

<sup>1054</sup> It is also lost from the New Testament, Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf (1976) 301, 371.

<sup>1055</sup> Contrast Sophocles, who sometimes uses the optative in the protasis of general conditionals with a present indicative in the apodosis; see Moorhouse (1982) 282, citing e.g. *Aj.* 520-1, *OT.* 917.

<sup>1056</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 684.

<sup>1057</sup> Goldberg (1996) 179, 187-8.

(54) οἰκεῖον οὕτως οὐδέν ἐστίν, ὃ Λάχης, εἰάν σκοπῆ τις, ὡς ἀνὴρ τε καὶ γυνή (fr.795) ‘There is nothing so natural, Laches, if you care to examine the facts, as a man and wife’

This phrase occurs with minor variations. It is most common with ἄν in the protasis; once, in fr.801.1 a direct object (τὴν ἀλήθειαν) is added. Because of the almost proverbial nature of this conditional clause, its position in the sentence is not fixed. Note that this speaks against word order having a particular connection with the pragmatic function of the conditional clause.

Probably related to this is the following example, the interpretation of which is unclear:

(55) ἄν τῶν διὰ μέσου τ[ις ἢ γυνή,] ἐκάλεσ’ ἱερέαν· ἄν θεράπων (Dysk. 495 f.) ‘if it is a woman between the two ages, I call her “priestess”’<sup>1058</sup>

The text as given follows Handley, Sandbach, and Arnott, as well as the punctuation of the papyrus. This interpretation requires the assumption of a performative (‘tragic’) aorist in the apodosis.<sup>1059</sup> Alternatively, one might follow the punctuation of the *editio princeps*, which ignored the papyrus’ punctuation and took the second ἄν with ἐκάλεσα. This one can then interpret as a frequentative aorist.<sup>1060</sup> If this is the case, the parallelism of the lines requires a further conditional particle to be restored in 496, for example θεράπων τ[ις ἄν παρῆ] (similar to Shipp’s τις ἐξίη recorded in Sandbach’s apparatus). For the hyperbaton this involves compare *Ep.* 568. Both interpretations are troubled by the lack of parallels for either performative or frequentative aorists in Menander.

#### 4.4.7.6.1.2 Mixed conditionals

<sup>1058</sup> On the pragmatics of this form of address, see Dickey (1995).

<sup>1059</sup> See Kühner/Gerth (1898) 163; Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 281-2, esp. 282 n. 2, see this usage beyond the confines of tragedy; Lloyd (1999) discusses the use in terms of performativity.

<sup>1060</sup> For this see Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 350, Goodwin (1894) 276, §1296.

While the general conditionals represent a consistent clause type, which is clearly distinguished semantically and formally from the four ‘main’ conditional types, Greek was also able to combine clause types rather more freely. This resulted in ‘mixed’ conditionals.

Of particular interest are cases in which prospective conditional clauses are combined with potential optatives:

(56) ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, οὐκ ἂν ἀπολοίμην (fr.43. 1-2) ‘if god so wishes, I would not die’

Since the speaker presumably does not wish to perish, the main clause has a potential optative, expressing the unlikelihood of the state-of-affairs occurring. On the other hand, since gods may wish whatever they please, the conditional clause is made prospective.

Perhaps rather more interesting is the next example:

(57) οὕτως ἔχων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἂν ἴδῃ μέ που τὸν διαβαλόντα, τυχὸν ἀποκτείνειεν ἂν (*Ep.* 903-4)

‘For if he sees me in the state he’s in, me, the denouncer, perhaps he’d kill me’<sup>1061</sup>

Since Onesimus is about to declare his intention of hiding himself, there is no reason to suppose that fulfilment of the conditional is likely. It is thus just in the realms of possibility that the prospective clause is standing in double duty for a potential conditional clause; *if* this is true, it might again be a sign that the optative was no longer commonly used.

#### 4.4.7.6.2 The apodosis is a question

Conditionals interact with interrogatives in various different ways. Most obviously, the main clause on which a conditional depends may be a question,

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<sup>1061</sup> For this reconstruction of the text, see Römer (2012).

like the enormous example at *Dysk.* 384-9. The question may even have rhetorical force of its own:

(58) ἂν ἄ[πο]ρος δ'ἦ, μηκέτι αὐτῷ προίδω; (*Ep.* 818-9) 'if he is at a loss, am I not to look out for him?'

Pamphile is arguing the case for staying with Charisius, despite everything he has done (or is supposed to have done). Though this scene is not preserved as fully as we might wish, its debt to the tragic *agon* is clear; as in Euripides, Menander's contenders are always consummate orators, and the rhetorical trick is thus quite in place.

Differently, protases (particularly of concessive conditionals) can be used on their own as questions; in addition to (73) below, see *Sam.* 521-2.

#### 4.4.7.6.3 The apodosis is a directive

An order is frequently made dependent on another state-of-affairs being the case; the conditional then states the condition which must apply if the order is to be carried out. There are nineteen examples of this in Menander, the majority of which combine an imperative in the main clause with a conditional clause introduced by ἐάν or ἂν. This is presumably related to the overall frequency of prospective conditionals, as well as the notion that imperatives have future reference. The main types are illustrated in the following examples, and tabulated below:

(59) ἀλλ' εἴ τι κἀγὼ τοῦ δέοντος σφοδρότερον εἴρηκα, μηδὲν τοῦτο λυπεῖτω σ' ἔτι (*Dysk.* 315-6) 'but if I said rather more than strictly necessary, let this not pain you any more'

(60) ἂν φανῶ τῆς παρθένου κἀγὼ πολίτης...ἑάσατ' αἰτῆσαί με τοῦτον (*Sik.* 252-4) 'if I also appear to be a fellow-citizen of the girl...allow me to ask this man'

	ἄν / ἐάν	εἰ
<b>Present imperative</b>	<i>Dysk.</i> 174f., 735; <i>Sam.</i> 471, 560; <i>Ph.</i> 30	<i>Dysk.</i> 315, 781, 798; <i>Ep.</i> 288; <i>Mis.</i> 22; fr.658, fr.835.1-2
<b>Aorist imperative</b>	<i>Dysk.</i> 176, <i>Ep.</i> 511-2; <i>Sik.</i> 252-4	<i>Ep.</i> 227-8, 289, 346; <i>Pk.</i> 269

Since a directive indicates something a speaker wishes another to do, combining an imperative with a potential<sup>1062</sup> or counterfactual main clause would be unusual (though used in politeness phenomena in English, e.g. *Were you to pass a grocer's, please buy some milk*). In Menander, this is not attested, and all examples of εἰ have an indicative. In general, the condition expresses not the speaker's reasons for giving the order, but the conditions under which the order is to be carried out; they are thus all predicational conditionals.

As with other types of conditional, while canonically the protasis precedes the apodosis, the reverse order can also be found (as at *Dysk.* 781; *Ep.* 346, 511; *Mis.* 22; *Pk.* 269; *Sam.* 471, 560; fr.835.1-2). This does not seem to bear any particular semantic import; in fact word order often seems to be conditioned by other factors than the relation of the two clauses:

(61) κρέμασον εὐθύς, εἰ [πλανῶ] (*Pk.* 269) 'String me up, if I'm lying'

The slave brings down his master's threat upon himself to show his trustworthiness; not unnaturally, this is put first before the qualifying conditional (the implication of which is that he will *not* need to be strung up).

#### 4.4.7.6.4 The apodosis is a wish

<sup>1062</sup> However, Wolfgang de Melo points out to me that there are examples in Latin legal texts of conditional clauses with a subjunctive in the protasis and a future imperative in the apodosis.

Since wishes for the future take the optative, these have to be considered apart from the other types of conditional sentence in which optatives can be used.<sup>1063</sup>

Wishes can be combined freely with various kinds of supposition:

(62) ἂν μὴ κατὰξω τὴν κεφαλὴν σου, Σωφρόνη, κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην (*Ep.* 1062) 'if I don't break your head, Sophrone, may I perish most terribly!'

(63) εἴπερ λέγεις ἃ φρονεῖς, ἐπιτύχοις (*Dysk.* 380-381) 'if you are being sincere, may you get her!'

Here a wish in the apodosis in the optative is preceded by a protasis, in (62) of the form typical for prospective conditionals, in (63) for neutral. The difference is simply the time-frame of the state-of-affairs: Sophrone's silence is a future (indeed, desired) state-of-affairs, while Sostratos' sincerity is taking place in the present, with his ardent desire for his girl.

#### 4.4.7.6.5 The apodosis is a nominal sentence

Either the protasis or the apodosis can be represented by a nominal sentence;<sup>1064</sup> in extreme cases, both may be:

(64) εἰ δὲ μὴ, μόνος ὁ ξένος (*Mis.* 673f.) 'If not, the guest will be alone'

It is clear that the reasons for the nominal sentence in each clause are different. The protasis can only be a nominal sentence because of a conditional in the immediately preceding context (*Mis.* 672). This can be seen also for apodoses:

(65) οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἐὰν ἀκούσης (*Pk.* 337) 'Not I, if you'll listen'

The ellipse assumes the anaphora of the verb from Moschion's accusation in 336 (φλυαρεῖς πρὸς με 'you're talking nonsense'); where an English speaker would

<sup>1063</sup> Compare Goldberg (1996) 181, who interprets *Dysk.*309-313 as a potential conditional.

<sup>1064</sup> Goodwin (1889) 173-180.

need a ‘place-holding’ construction like ‘No, I’m not!’, Greek can omit a verb altogether.

The apodosis in (64) by contrast is the well-documented ellipse of ἐστί in sentences with a predicative adjective.<sup>1065</sup> This is also documented for protases:

(66) εἰ θέμις, ἐμοὶ φράσον (*Pk.* 799) ‘if ’tis meet, then tell me!’<sup>1066</sup>

Cf. also *Sam.* 364-6, where the interpretation of the elided verb depends upon the reading of ποιῆσαι as the Cairensis has it.<sup>1067</sup>

There are some cases which exhibit a preference for ellipsis documented in Greek, for example:

(67) ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἦσθα τὴν ψύχην μέγας, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος (*Asp.* 17-18) ‘for you were a man great of spirit, if ever there was one’

This kind of propositional conditional is common in Greek. The implication of the ellipse is that the truth value of the proposition is beyond dispute; the speaker is in essence assuming the assent of the addressee.<sup>1068</sup>

#### 4.4.7.7 Two protases

If there are two protases, they may stand in an identical relation to the apodosis; they then present the same morphology, and refer to the same state-of-affairs as

<sup>1065</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 623.

<sup>1066</sup> The phraseology of this stichomythia passage has much in common with tragedy; see Gomme/Sandbach (1973) 522 for the line and 519-20 for the passage.

<sup>1067</sup> The reading ποιῆσαι reported for C by Sandbach (1990) 246 is incorrect, cf. already Körte (1957) 77 on 151; both Cairo and Bodmer codices read –αι, and the form in C is accented as an optative, not an infinitive (though West suggested ποιῆσαι). These are clear on the facsimiles by Riad/Selim (1978) pl. XLI and Kasser/Austin (1969) pl. 11. Interpreting this as the aorist optative, Austin (1970) 73 supposes that the elided verb is ἄν εἴη. Reeve, followed by Arnott (2000) 88, emended to ποιῆσει, in which case the elided verb must be indicative.

<sup>1068</sup> ‘Ellipses are preferably used here’, as Wakker (1994) 234 n.16 comments, with a rich collection of examples; add *Sam.* 300.

each other. Frequently they contrast a positive and negative colon expressing the same content. An example of this is:

(68) ἂν ὑμῶν προσιόντα τῇ θύρᾳ λάβω τιν', ἂν μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ παράδειγμα ποιήσω, νομίξεθ' ἕνα τινὰ ὁρᾶν με τῶν πολλῶν (*Dysk.* 482-5) 'If I catch one of you coming to my door, if I don't make an example for everyone in the region, think that you're looking at any old Tom, Dick or Harry.'<sup>1069</sup>

In this clause, both conditionals must be fulfilled in order for the main clause to be true. In addition, the second protasis imposes a further condition on the first protasis.

Compare *Ep.* 544-7 (ἐὰν δὲ μηκέτι / ζητῆς...ἀλλ' ἔῤῥος); *Dysk.* 897-900 by contrast has several prospective conditional protases coordinated. More interestingly, they may also present different morphological and semantic features; in this case, they refer to different states-of-affairs, which stand in different conditional relationships to the main clause. There is a particularly extreme rhetorical employment of this device at *Pk.* 514-6, discussed as (78) below. In fr.373.5-6, the protases are coordinated using double καί (κᾶν...κᾶν); they may be taken as concessives, but need not be. At *Ep.* 348ff., the two protases are part of an elaborate argument in the peroration of Syriskos' defence speech;<sup>1070</sup> parallel to this, though with the place of one protasis being taken by a participle construction, is fr.224.11-14. The opening of the fragment proves that the speaker is a sacrificer, and thus not a god, so the person not allowing the eel to be placed on the altar cannot be a god. The participle must therefore be interpreted as a counterfactual protasis.

<sup>1069</sup> See Handley (1965) 218 for more examples of conditionals used in threats, and see the earlier discussion on p.316.

<sup>1070</sup> See Cohoon (1914) 223-4.

## 4.4.7.8 Two apodoses

As well as having a double protasis, conditionals may also be given two apodoses; these have the function of making two states-of-affairs dependent on the realisation of a single state-of-affairs.

(69) εἴτ' εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστὶ σου, τρεφόμενον ὄψει τοῦτον ἐν δούλου μέρει, κοῦκ ἂν δικαίως ἀποθάνοις; (*Ep.* 468 ff.) 'then if he is really your master's son,<sup>1071</sup> you will see him brought up in the part of a slave, and won't you then be doomed?'

The first apodosis is the natural consequence of (a) the child being the son of Charisios, i.e. the τρόφιμος of Onesimos and (b) Onesimos doing nothing; Syriskos would then take the child and bring him up as a slave (as explained in the arbitration scene in the previous act). For the second hypothesis a different additional presupposition is added, namely (c) the discovery of Onesimos' inaction. This additional presupposition is on a different level of reality, since it is not a given that Onesimos will be found out, whereas the child really is in the hands of the slaves. The two states-of-affairs resulting from fulfilment of the condition are thus also put on different levels of reality.

A similar example:

(70) ἐμὲ μὲν εἰάν ἴδωσιν εὐθὺς ἄσμενον φήσουσιν ἦκειν, τοῦτ' ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ, αὐτὸς τ' ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἂν ἠδέωσ μ' ἴδοι (*Asp.* 433-35) 'If they see me, they will say at once that I'm coming because I'm delighted, don't I just know it, and the man himself would not be glad to see me'

<sup>1071</sup> The term *trophimos* has been retained; it does not here refer to Charisios, the τρόφιμος of the addressee Onesimos in the play; rather it refers to the illegitimate child of Charisios and Pamphile. See Furley (2009) 179-80 for this explanation and the Latin parallels.

Here again, there is a contrast between the certainty with which Smikrines knows he will not be welcomed by the family, and the merely assumed coldness of the supposedly fatally ill Chairestratos (αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος).

Where there are such repetitions, some grammatical elements may be left out and understood from context; this is especially common for the conditional particle. Thus *Dysk.* 743-5 omits ἄν from some of the apodoses; the precise distribution is unfortunately unclear due to damage to the papyrus. If Sandbach's text is correct, ἄν is present in the first and last cola, and not in the central two. For a similar case of omission of ἄν, compare *Dysk.* 250-2.

Less interesting are examples in which the two apodoses have the same construction; *Asp.* 216-18 is an example (a general conditional with two perfect tense verbs in apodoses).

#### 4.4.7.9 Precautionary conditionals

Sometimes conditional clauses are used, not to express the condition on which something occurs, but to express a precaution, 'in case'.<sup>1072</sup> There is a single example of this construction in Menander:

(71) εἴ ποτε δεηθεῖν βοηθείας τινός (*Pk.* 138) 'in case she needed some help'

It is a particularly striking example, since this is one of the few examples of the oblique optative.<sup>1073</sup> In this case, the oblique optative depends upon a historic present (φράζει, 137). The optative is motivated because the clause represents the thought-process of the subject (Glycera's mother) behind making the revelation about the identity of Glycera's brother Moschion. It is possible that the

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<sup>1072</sup> Wakker (1994) 277-281.

<sup>1073</sup> Following Wakker (1994) 278, who cites *S. Aj.* 312-3.

construction was influenced to some degree by indirect questions, though an interpretation as an indirect question here is not possible.<sup>1074</sup>

#### 4.4.7.10 Concessive conditionals

As pointed out above on p.301, there is no conjunction responsible as such for concessive relations in ancient Greek. Concessive semantics are frequently expressed using conditional clauses.<sup>1075</sup> The relations are similar, since in both cases there is an implication linking the main and the subordinate clause; concessive clauses, however, have a *frustrated* implication, rather than an implication of more or less likely fulfilment.<sup>1076</sup>

In Greek, concessive conditionals are usually marked with *καί*; however *καί* may also mark individual words, rather than the clause as a whole. The difference may be illustrated with these two examples:

(72) εἰ δὲ καὶ νυνὶ πλανᾷς με– (*Pk.* 269) ‘and if you are misleading me even now–’

(73) κἄν μὴ δύνηται; (*Col.* 98) ‘Although he cannot?’

Both of these examples represent protases without apodoses (the first due to a threatening aposiopesis, the second used independently as a question). But note that in (72), the function of *καί* is to emphasise the word *νυνί* (also stressed with the *–ί* affix); compare *DE.* 14 (with an optative) for a similar situation.<sup>1077</sup>

Example (73), on the other hand, represents a genuine concessive relation.

<sup>1074</sup> Schwyzer/Debrunner (1966) 687, where note Hom. *Il.* 1. 83 (εἰ-clause depending on φράσαι). The only other example of an oblique optative I have found in Menander is an indirect question (fr.222); indirect questions have the optative most commonly, and with some diachronic stability (already in Homer: Schwyzer/Debrunner (1950) 333; cf. Diphilus fr.32.6).

<sup>1075</sup> Kühner/Gerth (1904) 488, §578 discuss this as the only kind of concessive clause.

<sup>1076</sup> On frustrated implication, Longacre (2007) 385.

<sup>1077</sup> Kühner/Gerth (1904) 489 Anm. 1.

In general two distinctions are drawn in dealing with this construction: the position of *καί* (*καὶ εἰ* and *κἄν* vs. *εἰ καί*) and the difference in protasis (*εἰ* vs. *ἐάν*). In fact the first distinction is irrelevant for Menander, since the position of *καί* is entirely predictable from the form of the conditional particle; *εἰ καί* contrasts with *κἄν*.<sup>1078</sup> There is one example of *ἐάν καί* in fr.224.8 (which Kassel / Austin gloss as ‘*si modo*’). As expected, *κἄν* takes the subjunctive, while *εἰ καί* may take the indicative or the optative. There is only one example of a concessive conditional with an optative:

(74) *εἰ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρ’ ὑγιαίνομι’ ἐγώ, αὐτὸς οὐ δυνήσομι’ εὐρεῖν* (*Dysk* 733f.) ‘for even if I were ever so well, I myself will not be able to find (a husband for my daughter)’

Knemon’s being well is a remote possibility; yet if it were true, the possibility of finding a husband for his daughter would still be frustrated.

Otherwise there are four examples with the indicative (*Georg.* fr.2.4, *Ep.* 283-5, fr.296.10-12, fr.742), and 11 of *κἄν* with the subjunctive. It is unclear how they differ; minimal pairs such as fr. 742.1-2 and fr.703.1-2, in which concessive conditionals of both types combine with the same apodosis (an aorist subjunctive used as a prohibition), suggest a certain functional equivalence. Examples like *Dysk.* 808 do not support a reading of ‘likelihood’ for *κἄν*, since it hardly adds to Sostratos’ argument to suggest that his father is in imminent danger of being in need of assistance.

#### 4.4.7.11 Conditionals in *oratio obliqua*

There are three examples of conditionals used as part of indirect speech in Menander: *Sik.* 249-251, fr.63 and fr.605. Of these, fr.63 is of particular interest,

<sup>1078</sup> See §3.1.3.3 and p.163 above for the phonological implications of this distinction.

as its interpretation has consequences for the status of the oblique optative in Menander:

(75) ᾄμην, εἰ τὸ χρυσίον λάβοι ὁ γέρον, θεραπείαν εὐθὺς ἠγορασμένην ἄβραν ἔσεσθαι Ἴ  
 thought that, if the old man took the gold, the servant as soon as bought would be his  
 favourite maid<sup>7</sup>

The question is whether λάβοι is a case of the oblique optative, or whether it reflects an optative in *oratio recta*.

The future infinitive must represent the future indicative of the original speech. A future indicative in the protasis would have become future optative, if anything (certainly not aorist optative), while an aorist indicative would not have been moved into the oblique optative. We can account for the protasis by assuming original speech with ἐάν and the aorist subjunctive. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the clause had an aorist optative to begin with. Then we would have had a mixed conditional. Without more information about the context of the fragment, it does not seem possible to know if this should be added to our dossier of residual oblique optatives.

#### 4.4.7.12 Participle for protasis

Since participles in general may express subordinated relations, in the sense that they may be considered deranked verbal forms,<sup>1079</sup> it follows that protases may also be expressed in this way. Various examples can be found, corresponding to the different types of conditional clause:

(76) ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὧν γε θεὸς οὐκ εἶσα τὴν ὀσφὺν ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιθεῖναι ποτε  
 (fr.224. 11-12)

<sup>1079</sup> Cristofaro (2003) 54, and *passim*.

(77) πᾶς τις ἂν κρίνας κακῶς εὔνουν ὑπολάβοι τὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντά σοι (*Col.* 96 f.)

The first example corresponds to a counterfactual conditional, the second to a potential (cf. *Pk.* 351). This is a particularly instructive example. The speaker, a few lines further on, uses another conditional beginning with πᾶς and therefore presumably supposed to be in parallel; we may infer from this that our understanding of these lines is correct. Since the main clause in (76) is followed by a clause with εἰ, it might also be supposed that the participle does not really represent the protasis; however, see above for discussion of this example as having a double protasis, and for parallels.

*Ep.* 285 even has a genitive absolute with a conditional reading; again this is proved by the use of a conditional in the previous lines in a parallel construction.

#### 4.4.7.13 Literary and pragmatic considerations

The aim of this thesis is not primarily literary; yet Menander frequently exploits conditional clauses for the expression of particular emotional states of his characters. Lest the reader have the impression that Menander is nothing more than a ‘treasure trove of grammatical peculiarities’, some comment is offered here.

At the height of Polemon’s regret for his rash action in cutting off Glycera’s hair, he makes the following exclamation:

(78) ἐγὼ γὰρ εἴ τι πώποτ’ ἠδίκηχ’ ὄλωσ – εἰ μὴ διατελῶ πάντα φιλοτιμούμενος – τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς εἰ θεωρήσῃς (*Pk.* 514-6) ‘If I ever did any wrong – if I do not keep loving her in every way – if you were only to see her dresses –’

Some of the pathos of the soldier's situation is brought out by the three incomplete conditional periods; Polemon can barely articulate himself. Each of the conditionals becomes more remote (perfect, future, optative) as Polemon drifts off in thought. Conditionals are also used frequently by Menander when characters articulate intrigues which further the plot.

In fact, one can point to several examples of incomplete conditional periods in Menander. Frequently a speaker will only utter a protasis before being interrupted by another speaker; the interruption may not be deliberate, but the effect is still striking, and creates liveliness and suspense.<sup>1080</sup> A nice example is the interruption of a conditional spoken by Nikeratos by the entry of Demeas (who is speaking initially back into the house). The uncompleted conditional creates a sense of suspense as the third party enters the stage:

(79) NI: εἴ σοι δεινὸν εἶναι φαίνεται— ΔΗ: ἂν λάβω ξύλον, ποιήσω τὰ δάκρυ' ὑμῶν  
ταῦτ' ἐγώ (*Sam.* 439f.)

Assuming that Doris completed her conditional period in *Pk.* 980, Polemon's reply in 981 must be a modification of her (presumably factual, future indicative) apodosis. In other contexts, a conditional clause takes a statement by the interlocutor as an apodosis:

(80) οὐδ' εἰ μηδὲν ὧν σὺ προσδοκᾷς γέγονεν; (*Sam.* 521f.) 'not even if none of the things you're expecting occurred?'

<sup>1080</sup> Cross-linguistically, it has been observed that hesitation phenomena may come between the protasis and the apodosis of a conditional. There is ancient Greek evidence for this, see Wakker (1994) 54 n. 16, 55-6, and the deployment of conditionals in Menander may also point to this, a pause being understood by the second speaker as a turn-taking cue.

Here Moschion picks up Demeas' statement in 521 and adds a conditional designed to state the condition under which his statement ('I shan't listen to you') would be false.

A jerky, irregular combination of clauses at a moment of great stress can add to a passage's sense of realism: *Sam.* 682-5 is an excellent representative. Speech of this kind is familiar from everyday life. The use of individual clauses, as both questions and answers, can also be seen as a manifestation of this phenomenon. Interruptions were also discussed above. Menander is more realistic than a whole series of perfectly formed and organised conditional clauses would make us believe. The complex structure of conditionals make them a good dataset to study the organisation of Menander's dialogue.

Finally, there are some comic elements in the use of conditionals. Comic timing seems to be the reason for the reversal of standard word order of a predicational conditional at *Sam.* 364-6, where the mishap of the unfortunate chef is held in suspense. Contrast *Sam.* 470 f., where the apodosis (in clause initial position) is repeated, lending particular emphasis to Demeas' desperation. The verb ἐάω becomes almost a Leitmotif of the whole scene, so often does it cross Demeas' lips.

#### 4.5 Summary of syntactic features

The presentation here is by no means a complete study of the syntax of Menander; it only attempts to sketch out the territory. Further investigation of other clause types would allow us to make much more concrete pronouncements on the syntactical developments of the early Koiné.

Relative clauses in Menander are mostly stable, although this study was able to find an additional example of τίς used as a relative word. Some of the problems relevant to this classification, i.e. the distinction between a relative clause and an indirect question, will be discussed in future investigations.

Adverbial clauses of various kinds were seen to compete with participial constructions – at least, so it might be assumed from their rarity. Definite temporal relations, since they are less common than their indefinite counterparts, may be assumed to have particularly suffered from their competition. It was also observed that the marking of the concessive participle was extremely rare; concessive relations were commonly expressed using a conditional clause with καί. These in turn have given up an earlier distinction based on the position of the particle, in favour of a complementary distribution between κᾶν and εἰ καί. Future conditionals, finally, were seen to have undergone neutralisation of the neutral and prospective types; the interpretation of this is difficult, since the relationship between these types in the classical period is not fully settled. But the gradual development of ἐάν as a conditional marker *par excellence* foreshadows the gradual replacement of ᾶν by ἐάν in Biblical Greek.

The oblique optative is extremely rare in Menander, as were contexts permitting an oblique optative. What this allows us to specify is the reason the optative eventually failed: tokens of the contexts which triggered the oblique optative were rare in ordinary conversation. The similarity of Menander's style to conversational speech suggests that this was also a feature of contemporary speech patterns. Since there was also a grammatical alternative (the 'vivid' construction), this was able to take over. We saw some passages in which the optative still may have had some nuance of meaning; whether these are syntactic

archaisms or reflect literary stylisation, they are too rare to count as the 'standard pattern'.

## 5. Conclusions

This thesis is open to being read in two distinct ways. Some will have read a partial reference grammar of Menander; in the sense that it is partial, they may or may not have found the piece of information they were looking for. This thesis has not investigated some features which might also be expected to be informative: prepositions, verb formation, and complementation are all areas that should be explored in further work. In imitation of the Dutch practice of *stellingen*, however, the following substantive points are considered to have emerged from the description:

- Menander's Greek can synchronically be termed a colloquial variety of late Attic Greek.
- As such, Menander's Greek is compatible with the language of the documentary inscriptions (though they represent a more formal register); indeed, in the case of the feminine perfect participles, it has been shown that Menander's Greek had the contemporary Attic suffix  $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\alpha$  rather than classical  $-\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\alpha$ .
- Since Menander declined the noun  $\sigma\eta\varsigma$  as a *t*-stem, not an *s*-stem, *P.Ant.* 15 cannot be genuine Menander. The balance of our evidence is that a greater range of comic texts survived longer than we are used to thinking; even later papyri of comedy may show greater variation than we usually assume.
- The language of the poets of New Comedy was variable, they had preferences and individual conventions which they followed. Philemon's

language, for example, can be characterised by a much greater incidence of archaic features in his text than in Menander's.<sup>1081</sup>

The central enquiry of the thesis, however, was the relationship of Menander to the Koiné. Meineke was already able to state 'at Menander multa ἑλληνικῶς' based on the ancient grammarians;<sup>1082</sup> this thesis has tried to rearticulate this idea from the point of view of modern sociolinguistic approaches to koineisation processes. It should be noted that Meineke wrote 'multa', not 'omnia'. This thesis has maintained that the Hellenistic Koiné was a *real* koiné, and that the processes of its formation can be seen in Menander. The major results followed from the investigation of phonology and morphology, and were summarised in §3.8; the results of the syntactic investigation were rather more cautious, and given in §4.5.

On the way, the thesis uncovered some further features of Menander's language. Of particular interest were some features which pointed weakly towards a 'female' variety in Menander.<sup>1083</sup> Very few of them would pass a rigorous statistical test, and they should not be pressed into being what they are not. The importance of the observation that some features are confined to female speakers is the insight it might give us into the feature's prestige. What is so intriguing is that these features do not pattern along dialect lines; this points to what Trudgill called 'reallocation', i.e. reassignment of social value to variants derived from different dialects.<sup>1084</sup> If this is true, then features of Menander we have labelled 'pre-koiné' in the preceding pages might be archaisms.

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<sup>1081</sup> A 'grammar' of Philemon might be constructed from pp.174, 183, 199, 206, and 220; and nn.220, 719, 778, 786, and 847.

<sup>1082</sup> *Apud* Kassel/Austin (1998) 351.

<sup>1083</sup> See pp.118, 160 n.527, 221-222, 293 n.971, 294.

<sup>1084</sup> See p.28.

Perhaps the more important point is that investigation of Menander's language cannot be reduced to questions of the Koiné: the developments in the vowel system, for example, cannot easily be traced to accommodation processes with an external dialect. For other features, however – the consonantism of γίνομαι, the long dative plural, relative clauses introduced by the article, ἔνεκεν, the demonstrative neuter ending –ο, alpha thematic aorists – contact with Ionicised varieties of Attic seems to have made the language of Menander what it is. We also suggested that accommodation could account for developments in the Attic declension, although Menander himself seems to have retained the archaic inflection. Certain features in the verbal system suggested regularisation and paradigm levelling, though in many cases Menander has not yet gone as far as e.g. Biblical Greek.

The wider meaning of these results is a better understanding of exactly what 'Koiné' and 'Attic' meant in the late fourth century. We reviewed literature that defined the Koiné in opposition to Greek dialects; but what we see in Menander is that 'Attic' and 'Koiné' simply are not monolithic entities that can be forced apart. To put it another way, asking 'when does Attic become Koiné' is not answerable; by implication, nor is 'did Menander write Attic or Koiné?' What Menander gives us is an insight into the processes by which an interdialect (Attic-Ionic, Great Attic) was formed, and thus into the nature of the dialect that was adopted by Macedon (the input for the Koiné as we know it from the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East). The significance of Menander's language is that the Ionic elements in it are no longer facultative, or matters of speaker choice, as they seem to have been in the fifth century; rather they have become nativised elements of late Attic speech.

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